

1973 FESTIVAL OF AMERICAN FOLKLIFE



SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION • NATIONAL PARK SERVICE



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"I'm not old . . . just been here a long time," quipped the 80-year-old Appalachian potter, Cheever Meaders indicating that his vitality was more significant than his age. The comment has interesting implications when applied to cultural traditions. The artifacts and folkways of societies around the globe have been collected, cataloged, analyzed, exhibited, and studied for centuries by scholars attached to museums and universities. An incidental result of these activities is that the material, once removed from its context, scrutinized and exhibited in cultural centers, becomes enshrouded in a mystique best described by a collection of adjectives—rare, exotic, exclusive, invaluable. The sum total is an air of the exquisite not intended by the scholar but perhaps encouraged by the dealer and collector. In fact, the item, be it a song, dance, or a tangible object, takes on the values of the society which has collected it rather than those of the society which produced it. Vitality, if it still accrues to the material, takes a back seat to that venerable quality, age.

To exhibit the vitality of today's continuing folk traditions, the Festival of American Folklife was established in 1967 by Secretary Ripley as a living museum program. The event attempts to present folk cultural material with reference to the context in which the traditions have flourished, existed, or simply survived.

This summer's Festival is the first to include all four areas planned for the Bicentennial: Working Americans, represented by the construction trade unions; Native Americans from the Northern Plains; Regional Americans from the Commonwealth of Kentucky; and Old Ways in the New World bring-

Cover design—Adam and Eve tempted by the serpent in the apple tree was photographed from the carving by Edgar Tolson of Campton, Kentucky. In the mid-sixties VISTA workers and Appalachian Volunteers sought out creative crafts producers and established cooperative marketing organizations. Tolson, discovered and brought to the Smithsonian for the second Folklife Festival in 1968, has since become internationally known for his skilled and sensitive treatment of familiar Biblical and rural work themes. Photo by Grant Wilson.

ing together Americans of Serbian and Croatian descent with Serbs and Croatians from Yugoslavia; also in the "old ways" area, British and Irish musicians join Anglo-Scots-Irish fiddlers, ballad singers, and dancers.

It is not only the strength of the traditions that we celebrate but the vitality of the tradition bearers. In concerts, workshops, and panel discussions, and in one-to-one exchanges with visitors to the event, the artists and craftsmen speak for the meaning and for the product of their skills.

We invite you to participate in this celebration by posing questions to participants at their worksites or during discussion programs. Join in a kolo with American and Yugoslav Serbians and Croatians, or take part in a Kentucky running set or square dance. In the Native American area you can participate in quilt and shawl making workshops and in the Working Americans area you can learn to make paint brushes. Fiddlers from across the nation are invited to sign up for the Fiddler's Convention, and if all of these fail to lure you, try some Kentucky barbecued chicken and join with the gospel or Southern Harmony singers.

Ralph Rinzler
Festival Director

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THE FESTIVAL — A LIVING MUSEUM

S. Dillon Ripley

Secretary, Smithsonian Institution



As we present the Seventh Annual Festival of American Folklife, it seems fitting that we explain again why a museum such as the Smithsonian Institution is concerned with living performers.

We are a conservation organization, and it seems to us that conservation extends to human cultural practices. The possibility of using a museum that is essentially a historical documentary museum as a theater of live performance where people actually show that the objects in cases were made by human hands, and are still being made, practiced on, worked with, is a very valuable asset for our role as a preserver and conservator of living cultural forms, and it should be understood in those terms. It is not a kind of razzle-dazzle, a vaudeville show that we put on. It is, rather, a demonstration of the vitality of those cultural roots which surround us and are so

often overlooked. The fact that we celebrate ethnic diversity in our culture is, I think, extremely important. We have too often thought of the Bertrand Lindsay-like concept of the United States being "The Great Melting Pot," the great homogenizing element in Western Civilization. But, as we've discovered, this is by no means true. It is worthwhile being proud, not fiercely proud, but gently and happily proud of the continuance of these cultural roots and their observances and practices which we celebrate.

In one of the articles in this program, Andy Wallace of the National Park Service writes: "What came across to me was a people rooted in the land, a resourceful, hard-working people, living in the present, but with a respect for and awareness of the past, and the other ways." The comments about his field trip near Mammoth Cave in this year's featured Commonwealth, Kentucky, describe what we know to be true about folklife and ethnicity.

This is a Festival that celebrates people who celebrate themselves—people who know who they are and where they came from.

This year we are buoyed in our celebration by the enthusiasms and excitement of our co-sponsor, the National Park Service. Our joint efforts over the next three years will culminate in our Bicentennial. Themes and presentations for this Festival are a trial run for the themes around which our own celebration of America's 200th birthday will be organized. Presentations are focused on Regional America, Working Americans, Native Americans, and Old Ways in the New World.

We cordially invite you to share in the discoveries presented here and in the corresponding exhibits inside our museum buildings. We welcome your comments.

... AND LIVING HISTORY

Rogers C. B. Morton

Secretary, Department of Interior

The history of achievement in this country is a history of the men and women who, out of their daily toil, wove a unique pattern of living which has become our cherished heritage.

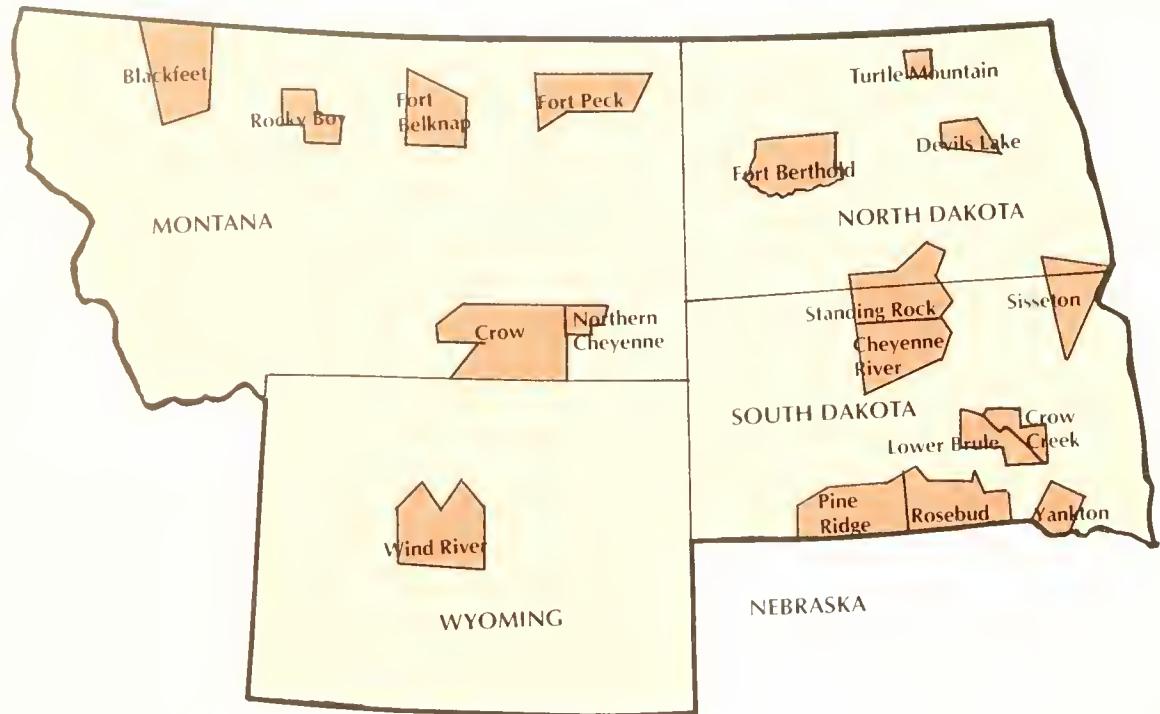
In its broadest sense, this is the theme expressed by the Festival of American Folklife held annually on the National Mall in downtown Washington, D.C. Beginning with this year's Festival, the National Park Service of the U.S. Department of the Interior is proud to be a new partner with the Smithsonian Institution in bringing to the Mall folk performances and craftsmen and folklife expertise of the highest quality to be found in the country.

The 298 separate parklands which make up the National Park System today represent a huge repository of natural, historic and cultural resources at the disposal of the Festival planners. This year's celebration is being held on the National Mall site of the Reflecting Pool near the Lincoln Memorial. The Memorial setting itself provides a symbolic link with Kentucky—the featured state and the birthplace of Abraham Lincoln. Kentucky's three National Parks—Abraham Lincoln Birthplace, Mammoth Cave, and Cumberland Gap—are represented in the Festival program to highlight the state's unique contribution to American Folklife.

The Department of the Interior welcomes the opportunity to expand its involvement in past and contemporary folklife studies, and to further that interest in "Living History" programs in parks throughout the country.

I join with S. Dillon Ripley, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, in hopes that the Festival of American Folklife on the Mall will become an even more popular annual event for residents and visitors in the Nation's Capital.





NATIVE AMERICANS

Ten tribes of Northern Plains Indians, from the states of North and South Dakota, Montana and Wyoming, are represented in the Native Americans section of the Festival. Their participation marks the fourth year of a six-year plan to include Indians of a different region at each Festival.

Past and present culture and lifestyles of American Indians are explored in these presentations which include samplings of traditional culture that continue to be central to life within Indian communities. Through workshop sessions, crafts demonstrations, song and dance, Indians demonstrate their traditions.

Members of these tribes work with the Festival staff as field coordinators to help plan, develop and carry out the program. Indian participation in the Festival is both an opportunity for the Festival visitors to become acquainted with Indian people and also an opportunity for Indian people to speak about both contemporary and traditional concerns. Among those concerns and priorities are a respect for the land, respect and care of their older members, and an arts tradition that realizes and reflects the role of man in nature. Articles on the following pages touch on some of these aspects of Northern Plains Indian life.

Clydia Nahwooksy
Director Indian Awareness Program,
Division of Performing Arts
Smithsonian Institution



Joe Attocknie, Comanche flute maker, at the 1970 Festival of American Folklife. Photo: Lissner and Prindle Inc.

THE COURTING FLUTE IN NATIVE AMERICAN TRADITION

Ed Wapp, Jr.

"I was one part of a red cedar standing high on a high mountain.

I was taken by a young man, whittled, and given a sweet voice.

*I became the night voice of the young man speaking to his sweetheart,
Singing his tender thoughts."*

The Courting Flute is one of the three melody instruments used by Native American people and is an integral part of traditional Indian music. Among Native Americans, the voice is also regarded as a melody instrument. The Apache violin completes the trio of Indian melody instruments. Rarely are the three instruments used ensemble.

Used principally by Woodlands tribes, Southwestern tribes and tribes from the Southern and Northern Plains, the Indian flute was once a means of transmitting signals in the night. The flute, however, was most frequently used as a means by which a young man could communicate his love.

Flutes are made from red cedar, redwood or pine, but gun barrels and other materials are finding their way to the skillful hands of the flute craftsman-musician. Flutes are frequently decorated with small carved animals, quillwork, beadwork, leather streamers and feathers.

Melodies for the flute are both traditional and contemporary. Traditional melodies are transcribed and transposed from the love songs, riding songs and dance-related songs that are historically part of the songs and song systems of many Native American communities. Individuals also compose pieces especially for the flute and the composed songs are frequently based in the contemporary experiences of a tribe or the composer.

The flute tradition among Native American people is not a static form. New materials for crafting flutes are being used by flute musicians and expanded needs are represented in broadened flute repertoires. Like any dynamic, expressive cultural tradition, changing times and lifeways are reflected in the ways groups of people maintain or alter the parts of their lives that represent an historic sense of community, and for the moment, few young Indian people are learning the art of crafting and playing the Indian Courting Flute.



Pour Elk, a Sioux dandy, shows the examples of Lazy Stitch, overlay and quillwork designs of the 1880's. BAE photo.

ARTWORK OF THE NORTHERN PLAINS INDIANS

Tom Kavanagh

The artwork of Northern Plains Indian Tribes reflects both the ecological and cultural environments in which the Northern Plains Indians live.

Materials used, such as buffalo, deer, and elk hides, deertail hair and porcupine quills and earth color paints, were what was available. Artwork was applied to every utilitarian and ceremonial article that could be decorated.

Traditional artistic expression was not formalized into 'art for art's sake,' but developed from esthetic origins of a more functional nature. It is difficult, if not impossible, to separate a piece of Indian artwork from its cultural environment. Such work can be admired for its technical complexity and its mastery of the media. However, it cannot be fully appreciated without a knowledge of the culture that produced it.

The horse-pastoralist-buffalo hunting economy of the Plains required that the Indian camps move every week or ten days in order to find sufficient grazing land for the horse herd, which might number close to 2000 horses for a single camp. Camp equipment and home furnishings were limited to those things which were essential to this nomadic way of life and were easily portable. But within these limitations,

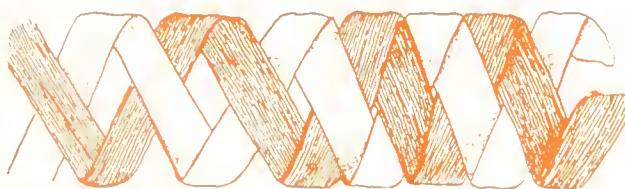
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there developed ample opportunity for artistic expression.

The article itself and the available materials determined the kind of decoration to be applied. Clothing, bags, and cases received an applied decoration of beads or quillworks while rawhide containers and large articles like tipi covers were painted.

The shape of the article also helped in determining the designs. Parfleches, the rawhide suitcases of the Plains, were painted with designs which followed the shape of their closing flaps: usually, rhomboids and rectangles, divided into diamonds and triangles of opposing colors. Round designs were used on shields, and 'knife blade' outlines were beaded onto knife cases. Another category of decorations was reserved for use on moccasins.

Quillwork and beadwork often served the purpose of covering seams or other portions of a garment. For instance, the narrow quillwork strip which covered the shoulder and sleeve seams of a man's shirt was expanded into wide strips of design, in contrasting colors, as beadwork was applied to the garment.

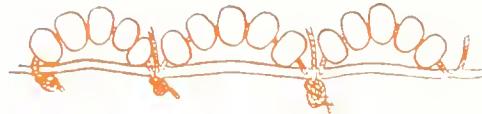


Narrow bands of porcupine quillwork, varied in color, are sewed together to form the designs as in Poor Elk's pipe bag.

Porcupine quills are too short to cover a large area satisfactorily. Consequently, large areas were covered with narrow bands of plaited quillwork. Designs were created by varying the color in each quill band and by placing a number of bands side by side.

The technique of applying quillwork, made up of narrow bands of color, to large design surfaces was carried over to beadwork techniques. "Lazy Stitch" beadwork was made by sewing a number of beads to the material with a single thread. A stitch was taken in the material, six or eight beads were threaded, and another stitch taken. The process was repeated with each successive set of six beads sewn next to the previous one. The finished piece had a ridged effect very similar to the banding of the quillwork. The Teton Sioux favored the "Lazy Stitch" beadwork.

The Crow and Blackfeet nations however, preferred the "overlay" technique. In the overlay tech-



Lazy Stitch designs, with the ridged effect, are similar to quill designs in the arrangement of bands of color to create a total design

mique two threads were used, one threaded the beads while the other sewed them down. No ridged effect is produced with the overlay technique.

Contrary to the attempts of some scholars to attach symbolic meaning to Northern Plains Indian beadwork designs, most Northern Plains Indian craftsmen insist that beadwork designs are not representational and rarely disguise any symbolic meanings. It is common, however, for beadworkers from one tribe to have names for particular designs—"tipi," "horse-tracks," and "bear's paw"—and those names may, though not necessarily, extend to other Indian tribes. Some designs may be associated with specific symbols. For example, a turtle design may be beaded on a woman's dress to invoke the protective power of the turtle to guard the owner of the dress from diseases that most commonly afflict women. But, it should be noted again, the "turtle" is not regarded in the same way by all Northern Plains tribes, and the design may in fact have a completely different meaning from one tribe to another.

Contemporary Northern Plains arts develop from the forms and styles of the "Buffalo Days." What was "formal" wear in the 1800's is now dance and "ceremonial" wear, worn only at dances or important occasions. Though the Oklahoma tribes have been influential in the design of dance outfits, the Indians of the Northern Plains continue to maintain a unique tradition. Very few beadworkers are now involved in the creation of large articles, fully beaded dress, or matched dance outfits, because of the time, effort, and money involved. However, those who do continue in the traditional ways have kept the strength and simplicity of the designs while producing an art true to the culture that created it.



The overlay technique is more suitable to the floral designs of Crow, Blackfeet, and Cree



Mato-Tope, the Four Bears, Mandan second chief, was painted by George Catlin in 1834, on the banks of the Missouri River. Though the Mandan were farmers, they ventured out on the High Plains to hunt buffalo.

in Wild West Shows from the days of Buffalo Bill to current TV dramas, and in countless books and articles of fact and of fiction. Consequently, millions of non-Indians in this country and abroad tend to think of Indians in terms of the hard-riding, feather-bonneted warriors of the Northern Plains.

Actually, the Indian hunter and warrior on horseback lived for a relatively brief period on the Northern Plains. Little more than a century passed between these Indians' acquisition of European horses from the south and the extermination of the buffalo herds. For thousands of years prior to that period the Indians of this region had boldly hunted the big, shaggy buffalo on foot. Several centuries before Columbus some tribes began to build semi-permanent, fortified villages of earthlodges on the Missouri in the Dakotas and to raise crops of corn, beans, and squash in the alluvial soils of the river bottoms.

As early as 1783 a French trader-explorer accompanied a dog train of Assiniboine overland to the Mandan village on the Missouri. He found there a lively trade center where the villagers exchanged their agricultural produce for meat, hides, and leather products offered by nomadic tribes. Already some European guns and metal utensils reached the villagers through Cree and Assiniboine intermediaries who obtained these articles from white traders farther northeast. By the 1740's a few horses reached the villagers through nomadic tribesmen from the southwest.

After the nomadic tribes of this region obtained horses they gained ascendancy over the agrarian groups. The Mandan were more than decimated by smallpox in 1837. Meanwhile, white traders built posts near the nomadic tribes who became the major suppliers of furs and buffalo hides. On horseback they could kill large numbers of buffalo. With horses they could move camp more easily. It was during the post-horse period that the nomadic tribes came to occupy the hunting grounds they later relinquished in their 19th-century treaties with the United States.

It was on the plains of Montana that the last of the great buffalo herds were destroyed. Some of the most powerful tribes fought valiantly to preserve their hunting grounds against white intrusion. The Indian Wars of the Northern Plains provided some of the most bitter fighting between the U.S. Cavalry and the Indians, and the most dramatic action in the history of American warfare.

HISTORIC BASIS OF THE NORTHERN PLAINS CULTURE

John C. Ewers

The Northern Plains—that vast grassland extending from the Mississippi and Red Rivers westward to the Rocky Mountains, and from the valley of the Saskatchewan River in Canada southward to the Platte in Nebraska and Wyoming—is the home of a score of Indian tribes—the Algonquian-speaking Arapaho, Cheyenne, Gros Ventres, Plains Cree, Plains Ojibwa, and the three Blackfoot tribes; the Siouan-speaking Assiniboine, Crow, Hidatsam Mandan, and the seven divisions of the Dakota or Sioux; the Caddoan-speaking Arikara, and the small Athapaskan-speaking tribe of Sarsi.

No other Indians are more widely known than are those of this region. They and their deeds as big game hunters, warriors, and horsemen have been most frequently portrayed in the paintings of George Catlin, Frederic Remington, and Charles M. Russell;

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FOLKLINE IN KENTUCKY

Lynwood Montell

In the Appalachian South, Kentucky led in the establishment and proliferation of revival institutions using folk traditions in education and economic development. The Fireside Industries, launched by Berea College President William Frost in 1893, still enable Berea students to pay for their education through broom tying, woodworking, and weaving. Proposals for elementary schools based on the Berea example led to the founding in 1902 of the Hindman Settlement School. Here native folk music and craft training were combined with basic education, sewing, and cooking classes.

It was in August 1917 at the Pine Mountain Settlement School in Harlan County that the noted English folksong collectors, Cecil Sharp and Maud Karpeles first saw the Kentucky running set, an Appalachian survival of the British contra dance or reel. Jean Ritchie and her sisters were educated at Hindman School. Perhaps the earliest southern singer of mountain songs on the New York concert stage was John Jacob Niles; and pioneer folk festival organizers, Sarah Gertrude Knott, Annabel Morris Buchanan, and Jean Thomas are Kentucky women.

The Festival of American Folklife, while recognizing the importance of the craft and music revivals, has emphasized survivals of cultural traditions. (It is not always possible to distinguish between the two.) We cannot celebrate Kentucky folk traditions without acknowledging the innovative roles of institutions and individuals within the Commonwealth whose influences are felt in many parts of the world.

Ralph Rinzler
Festival Director

The dominant folk culture strains in Kentucky are of English, Scots-Irish and African ancestry. Every portion of the state exudes characteristics that bear the imprint of ideas which were inherited from early immigrants to the New World. The character of folksong, folktale, and legend repertoires attest to this, and language survivals are readily discernible in most parts of the state.

The Anglo-Saxon blanket by no means covers every bed in the state. There are large clusters of Afro-Americans in urban areas. Black people comprise a sizeable percentage of the population in Louisville and Lexington and are also dispersed across Kentucky in every county seat.

Scattered colonies of Swiss, Italians, and Welsh are found in Kentucky, mainly in the mountains of eastern Kentucky. Germans left indelible imprints in Louisville and western sectors of the state. And Fancy Farm, a Jackson Purchase settlement founded by English Catholics in the 1830s, is now famous for its traditional fall political picnic, which kicks off every statewide political race.

The mountains of eastern Kentucky are virtually synonymous with early folklore collecting in the United States. Cecil Sharp's work in 1917-1918 resulted in the richest single collection of ballads and songs from Appalachia, but even before Sharp's visit, Kentucky gave up many of its folksongs and tunes to industrious teachers and students associated with the mountain settlement schools. Their

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William McClure makes bowls in his tobacco barn in Mt Vernon, Kentucky. Photo by Jan Faul

collections have never been equaled, and stand as priceless documents attesting to a way of life when things were not so complex. With the impetus provided by those early years, folksong collecting continued apace until the outbreak of World War II.

Folk beliefs, superstitions, and folktales claimed their rightful places in the scheme of scholarly folklore collecting in Kentucky by the late 1920s, but they were not accorded an equal status with folksongs, tunes, and dances in those early years. None of the important tale collections appeared in print prior to 1950. These, too, came entirely from the mountain areas.

Virtually no folk traditions of any variety were bagged prior to mid-century from the Blue Grass region, from northern Kentucky, southcentral Kentucky, or from the entire western portion of the state. With the arrival of professional folklorists at Murray, Western, and the University of Kentucky, the imbalance has been partially righted. Western Kentucky University in Bowling Green, with its four full-time folklorists, offers an undergraduate degree program in folklore, and recently instituted the only Masters degree in Folk Studies in the southeastern United States.

Collecting folklore for the sake of accumulating raw texts is no longer stressed as it was in those early years. The preservation of fragile antiques is no longer descriptive of folkloric and folklife fieldwork and research. Notice the use of a new word, folklife. The term denotes the whole spectrum of folk traditions from text to context, from songs and



Mrs. Francine Alvey of Wax, Kentucky, has been making white oak baskets for over sixty years. Photo by David Sutherland.

riddles to barns and fences. While earlier collectors focused on verbal materials only, contemporary Kentucky students and scholars of folklife are interested in the total ways of life of those Kentuckians who treasure cultural stability rather than social change. But they are equally interested in "the folk" wherever they may be in a rural or urban setting.

Certain traditional activities which heretofore were ignored by scholars are now considered within the scope of material folk culture and life style research. Thus folklife scholars read relevance into the historic patterns of action and behavior practiced among folk groups, whether such activities weathered the ocean passage or grew up in response to the demands of a harsh and relentless frontier environment. Traditional cooking habits, for example, are alive and vigorous in every part of the Commonwealth. Foods fit for a gourmet are still much in evidence at family reunions, community picnics, and dinners-on-the-ground observed by many rural Kentucky church groups. The butter, home-butchered meats, deviled eggs, pastries, and home-produced vegetables cooked according to time-honored recipes, are as much a part of the folk process as the Nine Patch quilt or the handmade comfort.

Not all folk traditions persist indefinitely. Some existed only as products of their unique roles at a precise time in Kentucky's history. The shivaree, which was the traditional dangerous frolicking after marriages; the Friday afternoon ciphering matches in



With a practiced hand Mrs. Francine Alvey fills the ribs of a new basket with a tight mesh of split oak. Photo by David Sutherland.

rural schools; the party games in lieu of square dances; the candy breakings, corn huskings, and various other frontier social institutions, all have passed from the stage. Any occurrence of these activities today is generally staged for the purpose of depicting a bit of yesterday's life styles.

Stemming from earlier periods in Kentucky's history are many artifacts of material culture which are generally long lived because of traditional skills and materials employed in construction. The observant folklife researcher can hardly avoid noticing houses, barns, corncribs, and other essential architectural forms that reflect the cultural heritage of their builders in the same way that folk speech, songs, and legends do. Persons traveling across the state from one region to another are likely to remark on the clustering of building types on the culture landscape: "Aren't the tobacco barns here in Western Kentucky rather tall and skinny?" or "Notice how a few of the barns here in the Bluegrass are built against a bank," or "Wonder if all mining camps have two-story shotgun houses?"

Kentucky's regional folk houses and barns and other forms of artistic and functional craftsmanship are symbols of honest and exacting work, and of the daring and resourcefulness of pioneer forefathers whose legacy reaches into the present. We can speculate that in our age of rapid technological change, some people feel a need to reach back, to rediscover continuity in their culture, to keep their balance in the present through reminders of the past

BASKETS AND FOLKLIFE IN EDMONSON COUNTY, KENTUCKY

Andy Wallace

For some 175 years Haskel Skaggs' kin have lived in Edmonson County, Kentucky. "Hack" works as a guide at Mammoth Cave National Park, which now comprises about half the county, and employs many of the natives of the area. It's an area rich in traditional lore of all types and remained fairly isolated up until the Second World War, largely because of a lack of adequate roads. The county is split almost evenly in half by the Green River, and no bridge spanned it until a few years ago, with ferries carrying essential traffic up to that time. The population of the area has been stable for over a century, and many of the families have been in Edmonson County since the first settlement. The people are predominantly Scots-Irish, and were all English speaking when they arrived. They are traditional, conservative people, in the best sense of the word.

I was lucky enough to have Hack Skaggs and his wife Bertha introduce me to a number of rich tradition bearers in the Mammoth Cave area. I had called at Mammoth Cave National Park to let them know that I was in the area on a field trip for the Festival of American Folklife. The Superintendent suggested that I might take Hack along with me, as he was familiar with most everyone in the county. It proved a fortuitous choice.

Hack and Bertha Skaggs have never taken a course in folklore; I doubt they know precisely what the term means, but they knew what I meant by "traditional," "old-time," "handed down." For a week we visited with neighbors, relatives and friends and

Andy Wallace is the Festival Liaison Officer and Research Coordinator for the National Park Service

talked about the old crafts, music, local stories, farm lore, and what it was like to live in Edmonson County, Kentucky. What came across to me was a people rooted in the land, a resourceful, hard-working people living in the present, but with a respect for and awareness of the past, and the older ways.

In fact, the past and present seem to exist rather harmoniously together. Most farmers now use modern techniques while religiously observing traditional planting and harvesting signs; the old ballads and gospel songs are liberally mixed in with more modern pop tunes—a good song is a good song.

The Caves area has long been known as a traditional basketmaking center in Kentucky. The baskets used to be distributed as far away as Missouri and Indiana. Although there is now no basket industry, as such, a number of families still make white oak baskets for community use and to sell to visitors to the Park. The techniques used in making the baskets have not changed in two hundred years. The trees are cut, the ribs rived out, and splits shaved all by

mother, is a meticulous and accomplished quilter not only with piecework, but with applique work and elaborate pattern work.

The Green River has in the past provided a livelihood for residents of the area, with logging, the river trade, and fishing all native to the region.

As trades, these are pretty much a thing of the past, but Carl Wolfe still weaves the fyke nets he uses to fish the Green River, having worked on the river most of his life, first in the logging industry, and then on riverboats. When he's not fishing he now makes wonderful models of cabins and boats and gives them to his friends. A young teacher at the local high school has befriended Carl Wolfe, and has learned from him how to make the intricate nets. What would have been a lost art has been passed on.

Walter Dawson Logsdon, Bertha Skaggs' father, is now in his 81st year. He spent most of his life teaching in one-room school houses in Edmonson County, while farming as most of his neighbors did and still do. He's both an educated man with an M.A. degree and a rich storehouse of traditional lore, both oral and material.

Mr. Logsdon, an expert basketmaker, sat and chatted with me about baskets and his life in the county, and we sang and talked about the old songs. He's a great singer with an astounding memory.

He talked about how he came to make baskets . . .

"In my boyhood days, after my father died when I was six years old, the only way we had of earning a living, was to make those baskets and sell 'em. I was the only boy in a family of five girls and my mother. We made these baskets and took 'em to market, and sold 'em in exchange for groceries. After I grew up and got on my own, still knowing how to do this, I decided to go to school. Had it not been for the fact that I knew how to do this work I'd never have been able to have gone through school."

"Back in the days when everybody kept chickens on the farm, they were mainly used for an egg basket. Gather up their eggs, put 'em on the arm, you know, and carry four, five, six dozen eggs to the grocery store. And you could carry back your little bundle of groceries, in the basket. . . . We made a bushel basket . . . it was used by farmers; they'd go to the barn to feed and carry corn in that basket from one place to another to feed their hogs and horses and cattle and so on. . . . Now you notice I use this one here to carry in my potatoes. I've got it stained a little bit, and by the way, this one is made of scraps—white oak. I never did use much of anything else. Now you can use maple in the spring of the year, when



The Mammoth Cave area has been home to six generations of the Skaggs family. Haskel Skaggs, a guide at Mammoth Cave National Park, carries an intimate knowledge not only of the geology but also of the geography, history and folklore of the area. Photo by David Sutherland

hand, though most of the people still making baskets are in their seventies or eighties.

Lestel Childress is one of the younger people in the area still practicing this craft. He learned from his mother, who still manages to produce some fifty baskets a week, while piecing beautiful patchwork quilts in her spare time. Quilting is, I think, a fine art in this part of the country, with the older women in most every household making quilts for their children and grandchildren. Ora Lowe, Lestel Childress'

the sap's risin', the maple is tender, you know, you can bend it. That's the beauty about this white oak, the reason we use it, you can bend it and it'll stay just where you put it."

We talked about the caves and what the local folk thought about them and I asked him about Floyd Collins, martyred local, whose fame spread to other areas by way of a song made up about him. His reply surprised me.

"I remember where Collins got trapped. And it's all such a common thing with us. We just didn't pay any attention to it. My brother-in-law, B. Doyle, my first wife's brother, owned the property where that sand-cave was located, and it's an actual fact, he got trapped in there . . . died in there. They finally brought him out in many months, two, three, years. . . . Yes, there was a song about Floyd Collins in that sand-cave. Yes, there was. But I never did learn it."

He did remember the ballad "Pearl Bryant," a widespread and rather gory song popular in the area years ago. After singing it he explained how he came to learn the song, providing an enlightening background to the ballad, and a good story to boot.

"Well, I learned that by word of mouth—tradition. That was, ah, I barely can remember when this happened. It happened up in the eastern part of the state, here in Kentucky. This Scott Jackson was a medical student, going to school, he was in love with this Pearl Bryant, and things happened that do happen to young people and he wanted to make away with her, you know. And he took her out and he killed her. And he was hanged for it. The two of 'em . . . there was two of 'em hanged. But the other fellow was actually reported not to have much to do with the crime. He just went along with it. And, ah, he cut her head off. And his sister . . . her sister rather . . . Pearl Bryant's sister, begged Scott Jackson to tell where her head was. And he never would tell. And the man that was hanged with him pled with him, told him, 'Now, if you tell the whole truth, I won't have to die.' Jackson told him, 'If I die, you'll have to.' Now this is just tradition, this is hearsay. And they were both hanged. And later on they found a skull, somewhere in that area, and it was supposed to have been the skull of Pearl Bryant. Yeah, I can barely remember it. Not the actual incident, but when it was fresh on people's mine, they talked so much about it you know. Warning the girls 'Be careful who you went out with!'"

Fitting material for any tabloid newspaper today, but much more colorfully told!

"LOOK AT BROWN RUN": PLACE NAMES IN KENTUCKY

Robert Rennick

Of all the things about Kentucky that have impressed my friends from other sections of the country, I am convinced that none have quite the appeal of our colorful place names. Scores of letters are received annually by our Kentucky Historical Society, our research libraries, our state and local newspapers, and me asking how certain places had acquired their unusual names. When we can, which isn't often, we send the authenticated account of the derivation of the requested name. Otherwise, with tongue in cheek and wink of eye, we pass on some old story that local residents have told and long accepted to explain the name, either a highly implausible yarn or an account that has the ring of authenticity but which has never been verified.

Here are the traditional accounts of several of Kentucky's more provocative place names that I've often been asked to share with my friends.

A Mr. King is known to have been among the first settlers of the Letcher County valley formed by what was later called Kingdom Come Creek. According to local legend, when later settlers arrived in that valley and asked who'd come first, the answer was usually "King done come."

An early settler of the Cabin Creek area of Lewis

Robert Rennick is the Coordinator of the Kentucky Place Names Survey, Place Names Survey of the United States

This river, now impounded, is said to have been called "Nolin" after a search party in the area was unable to locate a pioneer named Lin. Photo by David Sutherland

County, a man named Brown, got his living by stealing from his neighbors. One of them, after noticing his corn was disappearing from the corn patch, decided to lie in wait to trap the offender. When Brown showed up, the neighbor confronted him with a stick and chased him down the creek. Another man was milking his cow when his wife saw Brown rushing by and she called her husband, "Look at Brown run." Since then the stream along which he made his getaway has been known as Browns Run.

They say that the Wolfe County town of Helechawa was named for the fact that, many years ago, there was only one road leading into or out of the place, a dirt road that was so bad that people would say it was hell-each-a-way. An Indian derivation might seem more plausible, I suppose, but we can come up with something still better historically, though perhaps not as reasonable: Helechawa is one of the over one-thousand populated places in Kentucky that were named for persons—in this case, for the daughter of the first president of the Ohio and Kentucky Railroad, a man named Wallbridge. It's an acronym of the three parts of her name: Helen Chase Wallbridge—HELECHAWA.

Not all local place name legends need be scoffed at as probable outright fabrications. There may be some truth to many of them; at least the kernel of a real incident may have been preserved in the oral account but, with each re-telling, some changes occurred. For instance—

Years ago, in McCreary County, there was an inn where travelers would stop to spend the night. They'd be asked by the innkeeper the number of ears of corn to put in the feedbox for their horses. If the guest said 10 or 12 ears, the innkeeper would drop in 3 or 4 and then he'd throw in some pine knots to make the required number. Since pine knots usually sound like ears of corn when dropped into a box and the guest probably wasn't paying much attention, he nearly always was deceived. The town of Pine Knot came by its name in this fashion.

Near the mouth of Frozen Creek, in Breathitt County, there used to stand a large sycamore tree with a hollow trunk. Local people believe that Daniel Boone and some hunting companions were in that area one winter and decided to spend the

night in the trunk. They like to froze to death and the following morning, when they departed, they agreed to call that stream "Frozen Creek."

A common theme in place naming legendry is the naming of a post office in desperation. The name of the Lee County town of Fixer is said to have been derived from the response of a frustrated and desperate local citizen who found that each name he sent to the Post Office department in Washington was already in use somewhere in the state. (There's always been this rule that no two post offices in a state are to have the same name.) Finally he wrote to the department and said he was tired of sending in names and for them to fix her. So the place was officially named Fixer.

Nobob Creek, in Barren County, is said to have been named in this fashion: a party of hunters camping on the creek were accustomed to going forth early each morning and returning to the camp at nightfall. One night a member of the party, named Bob, failed to return. For several days his companions searched for him but each night they came back to report "No Bob." The very same story has been told to account for the naming of Nolin River.

Through Knox County runs Stinking Creek whose name, it's been said, was derived from the odor given off by many dead buffalo which had been killed

along the banks. Or maybe it was a large wounded buffalo that had wandered off into the creek to die. After a while it started stinking so badly that some of the settlers nearby had to move.

Mousie, in Knott County, was named for Mrs. Mousie Gibson, nee Martin, who is said to have received her given name when her grandfather suggested to her parents that since they already had a daughter named Kitty, they ought to name the next one Mousie.

The stories related above are a sampling of the literally hundreds that, over the years, have been told to account for the names of Kentucky places. Some may be true; others we know are not. Place names scholars and folklorists in our state are currently attempting to track down and explain all of Kentucky's over 100,000 place names in the hope of compiling a dictionary. We need all the help and encouragement we can get.





Photo by Jan Faul.

CUMBERLAND GAP

Paul Guraedy

Since their formation, mountain chains have acted as barriers to migration just as the passes through them have been funnels for movement and travel. A famous passageway is the Cumberland Gap through the Appalachian Mountains of eastern North America. In the dim past it was the cloven hoof of the bison that beat a path through these mountains and paved the way for the whispered tread of the mocassin-clad Indian.

The Indian first entered this region about twelve thousand years ago and quickly expanded the buffalo paths into an extensive network of trails, that rival our modern highways. One of these trails, known as the Warriors Path, passed through Cumberland Gap and connected the Great Lakes with the Gulf of Mexico. Most of the tribes along its length claimed Kentucky as their hunting grounds. Their travel back and forth across the Cumberland Gap soon formed a distinctive trail that anyone could follow.

Dr. Thomas Walker was one of those who followed this "Indian Road" when he "discovered" the way through the mountains in 1750. Walker and his companions spent the night in a cave near the crest of the pass which they aptly called "Cave Gap." This title was soon changed to Cumberland Gap after a river to the north which Walker had named in honor

of the Duke of Cumberland. Dr. Walker's journal mentioned an easily travelled break in the mountain wall which would allow passage to the fabled lands of Kentucky.

For the next twenty years, however, few settlers braved the trail described by Walker, and its location seems to have been virtually unknown. Daniel Boone was forced to make two trips in search of Cumberland Gap before he made it across the mountains in 1769. Once the way was found, he made several trips along this route into Kentucky, including an abortive attempt at settlement which was halted when his son was killed by Indians.

The Indians had welcomed early colonists and had even helped them survive the rigorous winters of the eastern seaboard. They believed there was enough room for all and that the two races could live together in peace. However, many of these friendly tribes were no longer in existence by the late 1700's. The tribes farther west watched as the tide of settlers crept ever closer and they came to the realization that Indian and the colonist had opposing concepts of land ownership and use. An area that could support only a few nomadic Indians would support a large number of settlers provided it was cleared, planted, and the ownership parcelled out to individuals. The Indians were continually pushed back until finally they were forced into conflict with the newcomers in a fight for their survival. Nothing could stem the continuous flow of European people toward the mountain barrier. Although passageways through the mountains became dangerous, the lure of cheap land was too great for the colonists to resist. The opportunity for extensive profits encouraged the formation of land companies which in turn encouraged westward movement.

In 1775 a group of these land speculators formed the Transylvania Company and purchased the Shawnee Indians' claim to a large section of land in southern Kentucky, including a right-of-way through the Cumberland Gap. Daniel Boone was then hired to mark a trail to this Transylvania land. He and thirty axmen blazed a trail that would become known as the Wilderness Road, and at its end they built the village of Boonesborough.

The pathway into Kentucky was now marked, and the westward movement of settlers began in earnest. Travel along the Wilderness Road was so dangerous that immigrants were forced to band together in large groups for mutual protection. Cumberland Gap was the point of greatest danger, and at one time it was necessary to assemble troops there to assist and protect travellers. Traffic slowed to a minimum during the Revolutionary War when the British armed the western Indian tribes and encouraged attacks on the settlements in Kentucky. With the end

Paul Guraedy is the Park Historian, Cumberland Gap National Park, Kentucky.

of the War the major Indian threat was over, the Indian's power was broken. Immigration into Kentucky swelled to its greatest proportions in the years following the War, and in 1796 the Wilderness Road was improved to accommodate wagon traffic. It has been estimated that 75% of the people going west prior to 1800 went along this route.

Many famous names have been connected with Cumberland Gap but more important were the nameless, faceless thousands who became the settlers of the west. When they walked through Cumberland Gap into the wilderness of Kentucky, these pioneers left behind their old ways and carved out a new life. They came not simply to trap furs and then move on, but rather to build, plant crops, and raise families, and they became totally self-sufficient. The mountain people of Kentucky remember Daniel Boone with his long rifle and buckskins, which have long since disappeared, but their real kinship lies with the settlers whose plow and axe are still used today.

LINCOLN'S BIRTHPLACE — HODGENVILLE, KENTUCKY

Andrew M. Loveless

Tiny Hodgenville (pop. 2600), County Seat of Larue County in Central Kentucky is celebrated as the birthplace of Abraham Lincoln, the nation's 16th President, and that area's most famous citizen.

President Lincoln was born on the 300-acre Sinking Spring Farm, three miles south of Hodgen's Mill, in the early morning hours of February 12, 1809. Today a 116-acre National Historic Site preserves the home-site and birthplace cabin of the Great Emancipator. Administered by the National Park Service, the Birthplace park is visited by over one half million people each year.

While many of the States of the nation observe February 12 as a legal holiday, citizens of Larue County join together each year on the nearest Saturday to the 12th of February to stage a day-long pageant. Highlights include a parade, costume and beard contests, an art competition, craft displays and demonstrations, historical exhibits, and a Lincoln Day dinner.

The celebration evokes memories of an earlier era when outdoor pageants and speech-making, often of a patriotic nature, were a major form of public enlightenment and entertainment. For millions of Americans in the 19th and early 20th centuries, com-



The Lincoln log cabin. Photo: National Park Service.

memorative activities represented a social and educational phenomenon now largely supplanted by modern communications media. In the days before radio and television, such celebrations were often the only means for keeping abreast of State and national issues, for seeing and hearing famous personalities, and in general receiving all the benefits of social interchange.

The celebration originated during the years 1909 to 1911. During that time Hodgenville was host for a series of ceremonies that culminated in the preservation of the birthplace farm and saw the completion of a classic granite and marble memorial building to protect the original Lincoln cabin. More than 100,000 people, including many school children, contributed over \$300,000 towards the memorial.

Robert Collier, publisher of the popular Collier's Weekly magazine, purchased the Lincoln Farm in 1905 and later turned it over to the Lincoln Farm Association, organized to preserve the birthplace and create the Nation's first major memorial to the President. To publicize and support the aims of the association, Collier sent staff photographers to Hodgenville to make dozens of pictures in and around the community.

On the 100th anniversary of Lincoln's birth, February 12, 1909, 8000 people watched President Theodore Roosevelt lay the cornerstone for the Memorial Building. In May 1909, Kentuckians turned out to dedicate Adolph A. Weinman's seated bronze of the mature Lincoln. "A noble likeness of my father," said Robert Todd Lincoln, who attended the unveiling in Hodgenville's town square. In November 1911, thousands witnessed President William Howard Taft dedicate the completed memorial.

Many of the Collier's photographs taken during this period have been preserved by the National Park Service as part of the historic resources of the site. The spirit of these memorable celebrations has also been preserved at Hodgenville's important annual event.

FOLK HYMNS: THE CANE RIDGE LEGACY

Richard Hulan

HOLY MANNA 87

More Baptist Harmony, p. 4 103

Brethren, we have met to worship, And as I do the Lord our God, All is vain, unless the Spirit Of the Holy One come down, Brethren, pray, and Will you pray with all your power, While we try to preach the word, 3

2 Brethren, are poor sinners round you, Trembling on the brink of woe; Death is coming, hell is moving, Can you bear to let them go? See our fathers—see our mothers, And our children sinking down; Brethren, pray, and holy manna Will be shower'd all around.

3 Sisters, will you join and help us? Moses' ants is a' sold him; Will you help the trembling mourners, Who are struggling hard with sin? Tell them where their comforter, Tell them where he will be found, Sisters, pray, and holy manna Will be shower'd all around.

4 Is there here a trembling sinner, Seeking grace and fill'd with fears? Is there here a weeping Mary, Bearing forth a flood of tears? Brethren, join your voices to help them, Sisters, let your prayers abound; Pray, O' pray that holy manna May be scatter'd all around.

5 Let me love our God supremely, Let us love each other too; Let us love and pray for sinners, Till our God makes all things new. These are all the words we have, At his table we sit down; Christ will eat himself and serve us With sweet manna all around.

"Holy Manna" is the theme song with which the annual Southern Harmony singing is opened. The words are by George Askins, a Methodist circuit rider of the early nineteenth century, the tune first appeared in William Moore's Columbian Harmony (1825).

There is one genre of traditional music in America which, more than any other, is both widespread and healthy in the 1970's. That genre is folk hymnody. The cradle of the American folk hymn was Kentucky, which at the start of the nineteenth century witnessed a truly remarkable phenomenon we now call the Great Revival in the West. In 1800 and for a few years thereafter the western settlements experienced a great outpouring of the Holy Spirit, religious enthusiasm, or group hysteria—as various reporters have described it. A combination of factors including sparseness of population, difficulty of travel, and a dearth of large buildings called into existence a new context for Christian worship: the camp-meeting.

Very early, camp-meeting worshippers showed a preference for a particular type of song, then (as now) usually called a spiritual. This is because it isn't a psalm, and it isn't a hymn (technically, a hymn must praise God—which many spirituals never get around to doing). Happily, the New Testament had left the door open for pious effusions called "spiritual songs" (Colossians 3:16). There were spiritual songs—whole books of them, in fact—before the Great Revival in the West; but few were of American authorship, and they were rarely admitted to public worship. The previous height of popularity for the spiritual song had been the Great Awakening, a mid-eighteenth century event during which the Calvinists on the east coast yawned, founded Princeton, and went back to bed. In about 1820 they woke once more to find that the trans-Appalachian country had been settled, largely by Presbyterians, who had soon gotten religion (at camp-meetings) and were now Methodists—or worse.

The greatest camp-meeting of all was held at Cane Ridge, in Bourbon County, Kentucky, in August of 1801. Here some twenty thousand souls, over ten percent of the young state's population, met for a week of preaching, praying, shouting, and singing. The Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian preachers who participated took turns in the single indoor pulpit; they preached outdoors from stumps and wagon beds, within earshot of each other; they tied themselves in trees, which swayed as they described the joys of heaven and the discomforts of its alternative.

Because it was the largest of all the early camp-meetings, Cane Ridge has long stood as the symbol of the entire camp-meeting movement; as such, it marks one of the major watersheds of American cultural history. Its influence is widely evident in the life style, let alone the singing style, of Americans of no denominational affiliation whatever. This influence on the national character is as deep and as widespread as the "Puritan work ethic," a better known religious phenomenon more honored for economic

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than for moral effects on American life.

One theme united the frontier evangelists who came together at Cane Ridge; a theme dear to the Methodist, untried but appealing to the Baptist, heretical but magnetic to the Presbyterian. It was the novel preaching that personal, individual salvation was not some eternally ordained page in the plan of God, but a function of faith, repentance, and true belief. This was not a new idea; what was new was the existence of a society in which this idea found ready acceptance by the majority, and no opposition from the civil government.

A person who was not rather self-sufficient and tough should not have been in Kentucky in 1800, and probably wasn't. Typically, the pioneer was a combination of grit and cussedness; the appeal of the new preaching to such a person was immense. What he heard from the rough-hewn pulpit was, in effect, "You have crossed the biggest mountains you ever saw; you have tamed the only wilderness you ever saw; with your own two hands you have built an earthly home, and you can make yourself a home in Glory." This pioneer sang,

"A few more days, or years, at most,
My troubles will be o'er;
I hope to join that glorious host
On Canaan's happy shore."

And he didn't just hope; he fully expected to join that glorious host. Furthermore, he was going to make it if he had to go alone:

"But if you will refuse Him,
We'll bid you all farewell;
We're on our way to Canaan,
And you, the way to Hell."

The legacy of Cane Ridge is not so much doctrinal as conceptual; it is the peculiarly American (and most visibly rural-southern) conception that personal salvation is a kind of spiritual commodity. Religion is something that one goes out and gets—frequently, during the second week of August. Those denominations which maintain this conception of salvation are, by and large, the ones which preserve the old spiritual songs or some modern manifestation thereof:

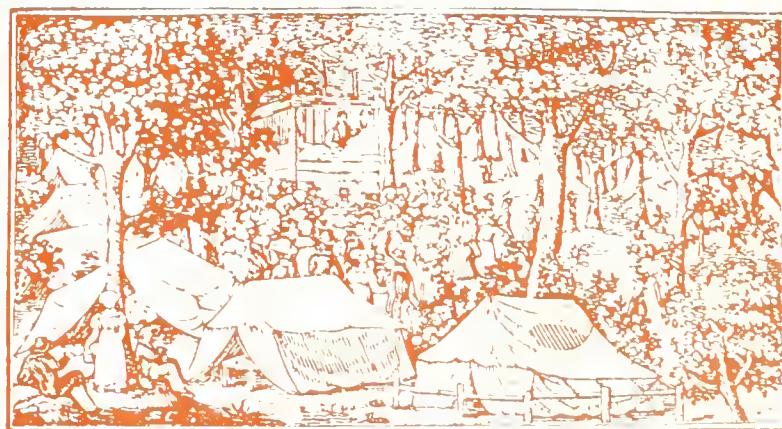
"How lost was my condition,"
"Plunged in a gulf of dark despair,"
"Love lifted me,"
"I saw the light,"
"I am on my way to Heaven."

Kentucky was the birthplace of the camp-meeting spiritual. It was the birthplace of Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis, too; they moved away (in opposite directions) to meet destiny, but the folk hymn

took root and flourished there as perhaps nowhere else. The 1973 Festival of American Folklife will bring together a wide variety of the spiritual or folk hymn traditions which thrive today in the Commonwealth of Kentucky.

Probably the closest approximation to the congregational singing of British Colonial America now extant is found among the Old Regular Baptists of Kentucky. Among Black people, the historical equivalent is the Primitive Baptist "long meter" hymn. The typical colonial hymn book contained words only (no musical notes), and was used in worship services by the preacher or another adult male. The leader of a given hymn would "line it out"—recite or chant it, usually two lines at a time; pause for the congregation to sing these lines; and then proceed with the next couplet. This manner of singing was gradually displaced as literacy increased and more hymn books could be afforded, so that by 1840 it was becoming an archaic style. It is still a strong tradition, however, among a few denominations which choose to adhere to the old way.

"Lining out" became archaic for a number of reasons. The music itself was no longer considered fashionable. While the northeast contented itself with such imitators of stylish European music as Lowell Mason (look for his name in the hymnal of your church), the southwest—Kentucky, for instance—went off in two conservative directions at once. Southern and western singing-school books from about 1815-65 retained much of the colonial hymn repertoire, including the earliest American efforts



View of Haverstraw Camp Meeting, Sept. 1830. Engraved for Rev T. Mason's Zion's Songster



A contemporary Gospel choir adds to the worship service at the St. Paul A.M.E. Church Woodburn Kentucky Photo by David Sutherland.

at artistic church music. At the same time, these tune books captured in musical notation a vast body of the camp-meeting spirituals (often sung to fiddle tunes or other folk melodies).

The two singing-school books having the greatest musical impact on the southwestern states were the 1835 *Southern Harmony* and the 1844 *Sacred Harp*, both of which are still in use. The *Sacred Harp* has been regularly revised, twice in the past decade, and flourishes throughout the Deep South. The *Southern Harmony*, last revised in 1854, survives only in an annual singing held the last Sunday in May in the courthouse at Benton, Kentucky.

The frontier evangelist and the singing-school teacher both realized that the traditional and popular

tunes of a group were powerful stimuli upon members of that group. For the evangelist, this musical stimulation reinforced his appeal to sinners to repent and seek salvation. For the singing-school teacher, it sold books. This last factor cannot be overlooked as a key to the continuing creation and diffusion of the gospel song, modern successor to the camp-meeting spiritual.

Such groups as the Spiritual Way Quartet and John Edmonds' Gospel Truth represent the mainstream of the Cane Ridge legacy as it stands in the 1970's. While singing a predominantly twentieth-century repertoire based on identifiable (usually copyrighted) compositions, they perform in a folk style to their respective traditional audiences. Other participants this year include composers and publishers of gospel songs, tent-meeting evangelists, and song leaders. Each partakes in the maintenance and renewal of this Kentucky heritage.

GENERAL INFORMATION

Crafts demonstrations daily 11:00 - 5:00—along Reflecting Pool.

Musical Programs daily 11:00 - 8:30 throughout Festival grounds; nightly at Memorial steps 6:30 - 8:30 except July 4th.

Second Annual Fiddler's Convention

July 7, 1973

Competition from 1:00 p.m.

Registration: 10:00 a.m. - 12 Noon

Area: Kentucky tobacco barn

\$1,000.00 in prizes

Daily Schedule for Horse Presentation:

11:00 Mixed Race (Thoroughbred, Quarter, Appaloosa, Arabian)

11:20 Appaloosa Show

11:40 Polo Demonstration

12:00 Thoroughbred Race

12:20 Thoroughbred (hunters) Show

12:40 Combined Training: Pony Clubs participate

1:00 Standardbred Race

1:20 Standardbred Show

2:00 Quarter Horse Race

2:20 Quarter Horse Show

2:40 Morgans

3:00 Saddlebred Show

3:20 Saddlebred Show

3:40 Auction

4:00 Pulling Contest on July 4, 6, 8. Demonstration on July 5, 7

4:20 Pulling Contest

4:40 Pulling Contest

Horseback Events daily at 1:00 p.m. in the Native Americans Area.

Panel Discussions relating to the Indian area will be held in the Museum of History and Technology Auditorium from 2 to 4 p.m. on June 30, July 1, 4, 7, and 8.

In the Working Americans Area there will be **tipi sewing and painting** continuously. Raising of tipis at 11:00, 1:00, and 3:00 daily.

First Aid Station—The American Red Cross has set up a centrally located facility on the site. Information Kiosks will direct visitors to First Aid.

George Washington University Hospital Emergency Room is located six blocks north of the site at Washington Circle.

Rest Room—Facilities are located throughout the Festival site.

Lost and Found—Lost children should be reported to the Press Tent, located at the southwest corner of the Festival grounds.

Found articles will be accepted at any one of the Information Kiosks.

Lost articles can be claimed at the end of each day at the Press Tent.

Public Telephones are located at the foot of the Lincoln Memorial (southwest side of the Reflecting Pool).

Press—Visiting members of the Press are invited to register at the Festival Press Tent, southwest corner of the Festival grounds.

Public Parking—Available in near-by West Potomac Park and at the Tidal Basin.



June 30	NATIVE AMERICANS	WORKING AMERICANS	OLD WAYS IN THE NEW WORLD	
			BRITISH	TAMBURASHI
11:00	Sioux Tribal Day	c. Houston Stackhouse	c. Ballad Exchange	w. Songs of villages of Gundenci and Šiskovci; Ethel Raim
11:30				American Tamburashi Group
12:00	w. Sioux Dances	c. Jim Ringer		
12:30		d. Workers' Exchange		Yugoslav Tamburashi Group
1:00	Horseback Events		c. Story Telling	
1:30		w., c. Utah Phillips	c. The Boys of the Lough	Song and Dance Procession from Lincoln Memorial
2:00	w. Pipe making		c. Children's Songs	c. Songs and Dances of Gundenci-Siskovci
2:30			c. Ballads: Norman Kennedy	w. Dance instruction with Tamburashi Groups; Martin Koenig
3:00	c. Sioux songs	w. Laborers International		
3:30		c. Nimrod Workman	c. Story-telling; Jokes	c. Open dance session for all
4:00	w. Quilting			
4:30		c. Blues Jam: Ralph Metcalfe, Jr. Host, until 7:30	w. Variations on a Ballad	
5:00			c. Story-telling; Ghosts	Katana/Gostjona: dancing singing, jamming with participating Tamburashi
5:30				
6:00	Pow wow			

MAIN STAGE: 6:00 British Old Ways in the New World Concert.

July 1	NATIVE AMERICANS	WORKING AMERICANS	OLD WAYS IN THE NEW WORLD	
			BRITISH	TAMBURASHI
11:00	Cheyenne Tribal Day	w. Labor Ballads: Utah Phillips, Jim Ringer, Nimrod Workman	c. Ballads: Lou Killen	w. Songs of villages of Gundenci and Siskovci; Ethel Raim
11:30				American Tamburashi Group
12:00	c. Cheyenne Dances		c. Story-telling: Owen McBride	
12:30		d. Music as Work	w. The Concertina	Yugoslav Tamburashi Group
1:00	Horseback Events		c. Story-telling; Fairy Tales	
1:30		c., w. Letty Diaz; Ralph Metcalfe, Jr., Jimmy Dawkins, Hosts		Songs and Dance Procession from Lincoln Memorial
2:00	w. Sacred Music		w. Fiddling Styles	c. Songs and Dances of Gundenci-Siskovci
2:30				w. Dance instruction with Tamburashi Groups; Martin Koenig
3:00	c. Cheyenne Songs	w. Bricklayers, Masons, and Plasterers	w. Songs of National Struggle	
3:30		c. Bai Konte		c. Open dance session for all
4:00	w. Shawl Making		c. All-Irish Ceili	
4:30		c. Blues Jam: Ralph Metcalfe, Jr. Host until 7:30		Katana/Gostjona: dancing singing, jamming with participating Tamburashi
5:00				
5:30				
6:00	Pow Wow		c. Story-telling; The Supernatural	

MAIN STAGE: 5:45 Gospel Concert

July 2	NATIVE AMERICANS	WORKING AMERICANS	OLD WAYS IN THE NEW WORLD	
			BRITISH	TAMBURASHI
11:00	Crow Tribal Day	c. Sea Shanties	c. The Boys of the Lough	w. Songs of villages of Gundenc and Šiskovci; Ethel Raim
11:30				American Tamburashi Group
12:00	c. Crow Dances	Nimrod Workman and Utah Phillips	w. Pocket Instruments	
12:30		d. Workers' Exchange	w. Mining Songs and Stories	Yugoslav Tamburashi Group
1:00	Horseback Events			
1:30		c., w. Cousin Joe, Ralph Metcalfe, Jr., Jimmy Dawkins, Hosts	c. Ballads: Cathal McConnell and Robin Morton	Song and Dance Procession from Lincoln Memorial
2:00	w. Solo Singing			c. Songs and Dances of Gundenci-Šiskovci
2:30			c. Story-telling: Lou Killen	w. Dance instruction with Tamburashi Groups: Martin Koenig
3:00	c. Crow Songs	w. Electrical Workers		
3:30		c. Bai Konte	w. Humor in Song and Story	c. Open dance session for all
4:00	w. Bead Work	c. John Edmonds	w. Singing Styles	
4:30				
5:00		c. Jim Ringer	w. Fifes and Whistles	Kafana/Gostjona: dancing singing, jamming with participating Tamburashi
5:30				
6:00			c. British Isles Ceilidh, with dancing	

MAIN STAGE: 6:00 Blues concert and workshop with Ralph Metcalfe and Jimmy Dawkins, announcers.

July 3	NATIVE AMERICANS	WORKING AMERICANS	OLD WAYS IN THE NEW WORLD	
			BRITISH	TAMBURASHI
11:00	Blackfeet Tribal Day	c. Bai Konte	w. Women's Singing	w. Songs of villages of Gundenci and Šiskovci; Ethel Raim
11:30		c. Houston Stackhouse		American Tamburashi Group
12:00	c. Blackfeet Dances		w. "Shanty Men and Shanty Boys": Sailors and Lumbermen	
12:30		d. Music as Work	w. Music and Song from the Southern Mountains	Yugoslav Tamburashi Group
1:00	Horseback Events			
1:30		c., w. Jim Ringer	c. Ballads: Sara Cleveland	Song and Dance Procession from Lincoln Memorial
2:00	w. Flute Music		w. Marriage and Courtship: Lore, Customs and Love Songs	c. Songs and Dances of Gundenci-Šiskovci
2:30				w. Dance instruction with Tamburashi Groups: Martin Koenig
3:00	c. Blackfeet Songs	w. Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Journeymen and Apprentices		
3:30		c. Utah Phillips	c. Shetland Fiddling; Aly Bain	c. Open dance session for all
4:00	w. Quill Work	c. Blues Jam: Ralph Metcalfe, Jr., Host until 7:30		
4:30			c. Ballad Exchange	
5:00				Kafana/Gostjona: dancing singing, jamming with participating Tamburashi
5:30				
6:00			c. The Boys of the Lough . . . and all join in until 8:30	

MAIN STAGE: 6:30 Tribute to the Tamburashi.

c = concert; d = discussion; w = workshop

July 4	NATIVE AMERICANS	WORKING AMERICANS	KENTUCKY BARN	KENTUCKY STAGE	OLD WAYS IN THE NEW WORLD TAMBURASHI
11:00	Northern Plains Day	c. Austin Pitre	c. Phipps Family	Regular Baptist Hymns	w. Songs of villages of Gundenci and Siskovci; Ethel Rain American Tamburashi Group
11:30		w. Organizing Songs	c. Coon Creek Girls	Wilson Brothers	
12:00	c. Social Dances		c. Ballad Swap; Buell Kazee, A. Eraley, I. Ritchie	c. Caldwell	
12:30				c. Southern Harmony Singers	
1:00	Horseback Events				Song and Dance Procession from Lincoln Memorial
1:30		c. W. Houston Stackhouse, Ralph Metcalfe, Jr., Jimmy Dawkins, Hosts	c. Carlisle Brothers	c. Spiritual Way Quartet	c. Songs and Dances of Gundenci-Siskovci
2:00	w. Tipis		c. Goins Brothers		w. Dance Instruction with Tamburashi Groups; Martin Koenig
2:30				c. John Edmonds	
3:00	c. Honoring Songs	w. Carpenters and Joiners	Tobacco Auction	c. Open dance session for all	
3:30		Blues Jam: Ralph Metcalfe, Jr., Host until 7:30	c. Barn Dance until 7:30	c. Buell Kazee	
4:00	w. Hand Games			c. Phebel and Flora Wright	
4:30				c. Ritchie Family	Kafana/Gostjona: dancing singing, jamming with participating Tamburashi
5:00					
5:30					
6:00					

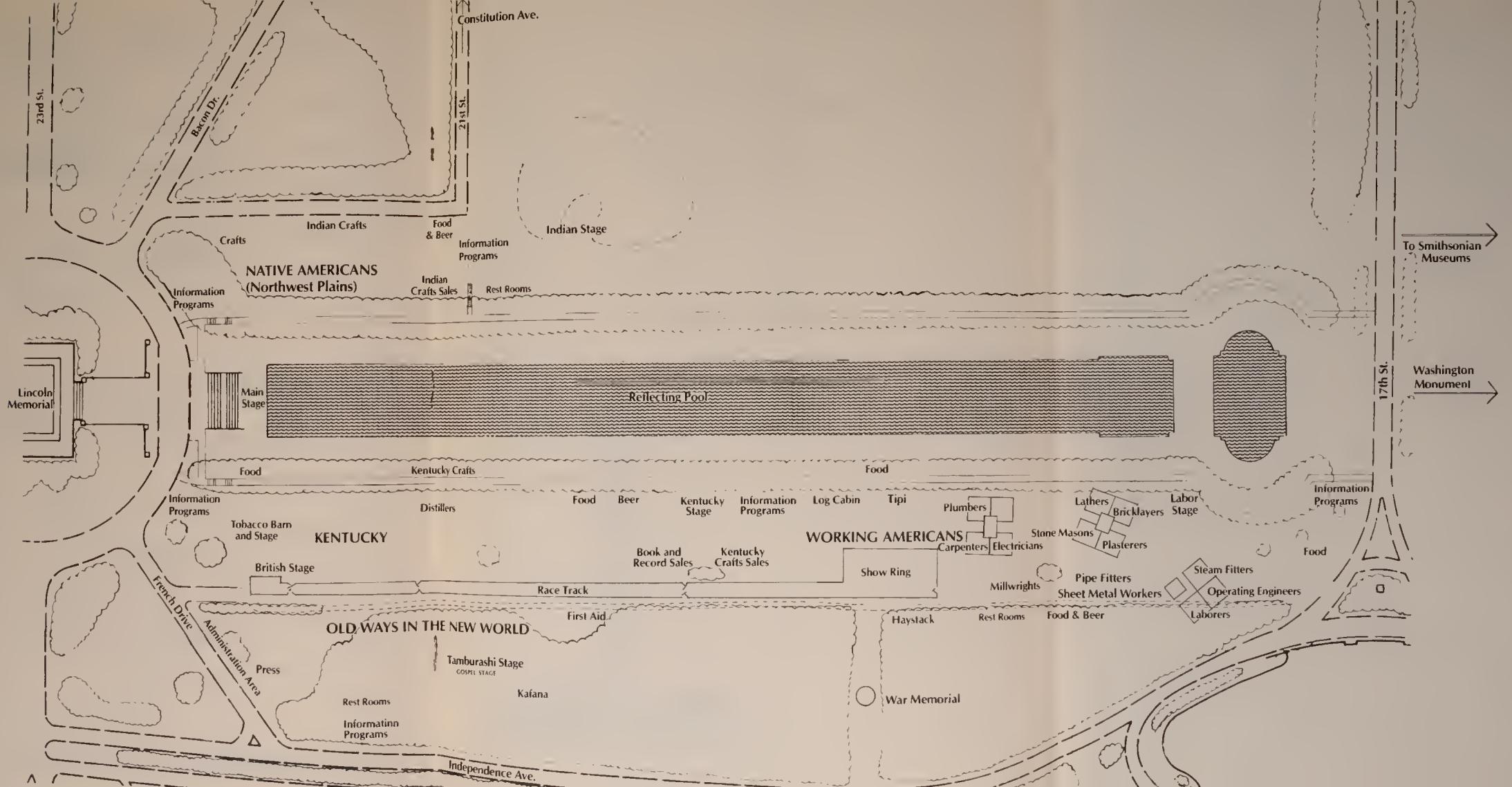
c = concert; d = discussion; w = workshop

July 5	NATIVE AMERICANS	WORKING AMERICANS	KENTUCKY BARN	KENTUCKY STAGE
11:00	Arapaho Tribal Day	c. Country and Western Songs	c. Roscoe Holcomb, Buell Kazee, Coon Creek Girls	c. Regular Baptist Hymns
11:30				
12:00	c. Arapaho Dances	d. Music as Work: Archie Green, Grandpa Jones, Merle Travis	c. Goins Brothers	c. Phipps Family
12:30				
1:00	Horseback Events		c. Guitar Workshop: Kenny Baker, Bill Williams, Merle Travis, Carlisle Brothers, Mose Rager	c. Southern Harmony Singers
1:30		c., w. Carey Bell: Ralph Metcalfe, Jr., Jimmy Dawkins, Hosts		c. Wilson Brothers
2:00	w. Drum Making			c. Spiritual Way Quartet
2:30				
3:00	c. Arapaho Songs	w. Operative Plasterers and Cement Masons	c. Tobacco Auction	c. John Edmonds
3:30		c. Blues Jam: Ralph Metcalfe, Jr., Host until 7:30	c., w. Bill Monroe	
4:00	w. Moccasins			c. Caldwells
4:30			c. Fiddle Tune Swap	c. Ritches
5:00				c. String Band Music
5:30				
6:00				

MAIN STAGE: 6:00 Kentucky Presentation

July 6	NATIVE AMERICANS	WORKING AMERICANS	KENTUCKY BARN	KENTUCKY STAGE
11:00	Mandan, Hidatsa, Arickara Day	c. Jim Ringer	c. Phipps Family	c. Roscoe Holcomb
11:30		c. Austin Pitre		c. Southern Harmony Singers
12:00	c. Mandan, Hidatsa, Arickara Dances		c. Sanford L. Meaux	
12:30		d. Workers' Exchange	c. Merle Travis	c. Buell Kazee
1:00	Horseback Events		w. Banjo Styles	c. Regular Baptist Hymns
1:30		c., w. John Estes, Ralph Metcalfe, Jr., Jimmy Dawkins, Hosts		
2:00	w. Cradleboards			c. Wilson Brothers
2:30			c. Grandpa Jones	c. John Edmonds
3:00	c. Mandan, Hidatsa, Arickara Songs	w. Wood, Wire, and Metal Lathers	Tobacco Auction	
3:30		w. Blues Fiddle: Henry Miles, Houston Stackhouse	c. Barn Dance with Charlie Monroe	c. Spiritual Way Quartet
4:00	w. Featherwork			c. Caldwells
4:30		w. Occupational Songs		c. String Band Music
5:00				
5:30				
6:00				

MAIN STAGE: 6:00 Blues Concert



July 7	NATIVE AMERICANS	WORKING AMERICANS	KENTUCKY BARN	KENTUCKY STAGE
11:00	All Tribes Day	c. Memphis Blues: Houston Stackhouse, John Estes	Tobacco Auction	c. John Edmonds
11:30			w. Fiddle Styles	
12:00	w. Food Preparations	d. Music as Work		c. Ritchie Family
12:30				
1:00	Horseback Events		c. Old Time Fiddle Contest	c. Caldwell's
1:30		w., c. Jimmy Dawkins, Ralph Metcalfe, Jr., Host		c. Spiritual Way Quartet
2:00	w. Legends			c. Phipps Family
2:30				c. Southern Harmony Singers
3:00	c. Hand Games	w. Sheet Metal Workers		c. J. D. Jarvis Bluegrass Band
3:30		c. Austin Pitre		c. Regular Baptist Hymns with Homer Elliott
4:00	w. Give Away	c. Blues Jam: Ralph Metcalfe, Jr., Host until 7:30		
4:30				c. Wilson Brothers
5:00				
6:00	Pow Wow			

MAIN STAGE: 6:00 Awards for the Old-Time Fiddle Contest and a Square Dance

GOSPEL STAGE: 11:30 Open Gospel Stage; 5:00 Gospel Concert.

July 8	NATIVE AMERICANS	WORKING AMERICANS	KENTUCKY BARN	KENTUCKY STAGE
11:00	Cree Tribal Day	w. Blues Guitar	c. J. P. and Annadeene Fraley	c. John Edmonds
11:30				
12:00	c. Cree Dances		c. Ivory Howard	c. Phipps Family
12:30		d. Workers' Exchange	c. Henry Miles	c. Regular Baptist Hymns
1:00	Horseback Events			c. Caldwell's
1:30		c., w. Austin Pitre	c. Ritches	c. Pebel and Flora Wright
2:00	w. Sacred Music			c. Wilson Brothers
2:30				
3:00	c. Cree Songs	w. Painters and Allied Trades	Tobacco Auction	c. Buell Kazee
3:30		c. Blues Jam with Ralph Metcalfe, Jr., Host until 7:30	c. Barn Dance	c. Southern Harmony Singers
4:00	w. History			c. J. D. Jarvis Bluegrass Band
4:30				c. Spiritual Way Quartet
5:00				String Band Music
6:00				

MAIN STAGE: 6:00 Festival Concert

GOSPEL STAGE: 1:00 Open Gospel Stage; 5:00 Gospel Concert.

KENTUCKY PARTICIPANTS

CRAFTS

Desmond Beam
 Percy Beason
 Thomas Bolton
 Curt Childress
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 Larry Hensley
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 Byron Sparkman
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 Ida B. Swihart
 Howard Taylor
 James Thompson
 Edgar Tolson
 Bobby Warren
 Howard Whitaker
 John David Willett
 Michael Willett
 Milli Wilson
 Morris Wood
 Robert Wood
 Ray Wooten

<i>Distiller</i>	The Coon Creek Girls	<i>Singers, string band</i>
<i>Broom Maker</i>	Lily-May, Rosie and Susan	<i>Gospel singers</i>
<i>Net maker</i>	John Edmonds Gospel Truth	<i>Fiddle band</i>
<i>Basket maker</i>	J P. and Annadeene Fraley	<i>Bluegrass band</i>
<i>Bottling machine operator</i>	The Goins Brothers	<i>Singer, banjo player</i>
<i>Chair maker</i>	Roscoe Holcomb	<i>Banjo player</i>
<i>Chair maker</i>	Ivory Howard	
<i>Distiller</i>	J.D. Jarvis, Lily May and	<i>Gospel bluegrass band</i>
<i>Basket maker</i>	The Dixie Gospelaires	<i>String band</i>
<i>Quilter</i>	Grandpa, Ramona and Mark Jones	<i>Singer, banjo player</i>
<i>Apple doll maker</i>	Buell Kazee	<i>Square dance caller</i>
<i>Wooden bowl maker</i>	Roy Lawson	<i>Master of ceremonies</i>
<i>Corn shuck dolls</i>	Bill Lightfoot	<i>Harmonica player</i>
<i>Potter</i>	Sanford L. Meaux	<i>Jug band</i>
<i>Potter</i>	Henry Miles Band	<i>Bluegrass band</i>
<i>Potter</i>	Bill Monroe	<i>Singer, guitarist</i>
<i>Dulcimer maker</i>	Charlie Monroe	<i>Singers, string musicians</i>
<i>Guide</i>	A. L. Phipps Family	<i>Square dancers</i>
<i>Chair maker</i>	Kentucky Mountain Hoedowners	<i>Guitarist</i>
<i>Sorghum maker</i>	Mose Rager	<i>Singers, string musicians</i>
<i>Sorghum maker</i>	The Ritchie Family	<i>Shaped note hymn singers</i>
<i>Sorghum maker</i>	"Southern Harmony" Singers	<i>Gospel singers</i>
<i>Sorghum maker</i>	The Spiritual Way Quartet	<i>Fiddler</i>
<i>Country ham cutter</i>	Buddy Thomas	
<i>Fattier</i>	Thornton Union Assoc. of Regular Baptists	<i>Hymn singers</i>
<i>Woodcarver</i>	Bill Williams	<i>Singer, guitarist</i>
<i>Cooper</i>	The Wilson Brothers	<i>Gospel bluegrass band</i>
<i>Tobacco auctioneer</i>	Hon. George Wooten	<i>Master of ceremonies</i>
<i>Distiller</i>	Phebel and Flora Wright	<i>Singers</i>
<i>Distiller</i>		
<i>Doll maker</i>		
<i>Barn builder</i>		
<i>Tobacco twister</i>		
<i>Harness maker</i>		

HORSES

Appaloosa: Mrs. Victor Griffiths, Mr. and Mrs. Roland Haun, Mr. and Mrs. Martin Tharnish
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Morgan: Mr. Royce Adams, Mr. and Mrs. Gary Lewis, Mr. and Mrs. Frank Lorimer
Pony Club: Miss Benny Bell, Mrs. Cecil and Kim Brumley
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Saddlebred: Miss Edith Nugent, Miss Wendy Wagner
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Thoroughbred: Central Kentucky Vocation Technical School, Kentucky Equine Educational Program, Mr. Robert E. DeSensi and Trainees

MUSIC

Alfred Bailey Band
 Arthur Breeze, Robert Smoot
 Hon. B. E. Billings
 Forster and Nancy Caldwell
 Bill and Cliff Carlisle

Fiddle band

Square dance caller
Gospel singers
Singers, string band



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in cooperation with

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Archie Green
Walter E. Kennedy, III
John R. McKenzie
Ralph Metcalfe, Jr.

Performers:

Coates Singers—Gospel group, Washington, D.C.
Cosmopolitan Singers—Gospel group, Washington, D.C.
Jimmy Dawkins Band with Carey Bell, Big Mojo Elam, Clifton James, Willie James Eyon—Blues band, Chicago, Ill.
Lefty Diaz Band with Bill Warren, Bob Simmons—Blues band, Chicago, Ill.
Dr. Thomas A. Dorsey—Gospel songwriter, Chicago, Ill.
Eastern High School Gospel Choir—Gospel choir, Washington, D.C.
John Edmonds Gospel Truth—Gospel group, Bowling Green, Ky.
John Estes with Hammy Nixon—Memphis Bluesman, Brownsville, Tenn.
Ed Gerald Sounds—Gospel group, Washington, D.C.
Gospel Music Workshop of America—Gospel group, Washington, D.C.
Institutional Church of God in Christ—Gospel choir, New York, N.Y.
Cousin Joe—Blues pianist, New Orleans, La.
National Gospel Symposium Ensemble—Gospel choir, Washington, D.C.
New York Community Choir—Gospel choir, New York, N.Y.
Utah Phillips—Labor singer, Saratoga Springs, N.Y.
Austin Pitre—Cajun band, Eunice, La.
Sara Jordan Powell—Gospel singer, Houston, Texas
Jim Ringer with Mary McCaslin & Jay Unger—Folk & country singer, Fresno, Calif.
Houston Stackhouse—Memphis bluesman, Memphis, Tenn.
Myrna Summers & Singers—Gospel group, Washington, D.C.
James Williams with Lefty Diaz Band—Blues band, Chicago, Ill.

NATIVE AMERICANS

CROW

Frank Backbone
Pearl Backbone
Ann Big Man
Hugh Little Owl
Kevin Red Star

Singer
Beadworker
Beadworker
Flute maker
Tipi painter

NORTHERN CHEYENNE

Cecilia Bearchum
Curtis Bearchum
Jesse Copenhaver
Joan Sootkis
Vernon Sootkis
Ruth Strangeowl

Shawl maker
Featherworker
Beadworker
Shawl maker
Moccasin maker
Cook

ARAPAHO

Arnold Hedley
Aline Shakespeare
Tom Shakespeare
William Shakespeare

Singer
Beadworker
Singer
Dancer

CREE

Mary Denny
Ona Denny
Walter Denny
Ariad Standing Rock
Douglas Standing Rock

Beadworker
Dancer
Tipi maker
Cradleboard maker
Featherworker

SIOUX

Mary Bagola
Iva Blackbear
William Horn Cloud
Cecilia Jumping Bull
Harry Jumping Bull
Jennie Knox
Sybil Lambert
Rosebud Marshall
Marie Star Boy
Lucy Swan
Claude Two Elk
Marie Two Charger
Floyd Westerman

Beadwork
Singer
Singer
Tipi sewer
Camp crier
Quilter
Cook
Pipe maker
Quilter
Beadwork
Dancer
Quilter
Singer

BLACKFEET

Mary Crowshoe
Joe Crowshoe
Louise Evans
Grace Kennedy
Pat Kennedy
John Bear Medicine
Willy Eagle Plume
Joan Heavy Runner
Tom Heavy Runner
Adolf Hungry Wolf

Beadworker
Tipi maker
Moccasin maker
Beadworker
Singer
Doll maker
Drum maker
Cradleboard maker
Tipi sewer
Singer

OLD WAYS IN THE NEW WORLD

TRIBUTE TO THE TAMBURASHI

Participants from Yugoslavia

Group from VRSAC:

Group Coordinator: Desimir Daković-Daca

Žarko Zrenjanin"

Ivan Djodjev

Sredoja Granić

Svetislav Herić

Ziva Jovanov

Žarko Mišić

Doka Mitrov

Vasa Radak

Ziva Radak

Joca Stanisavljev

Bogoslav Vinchila

Group from GUNDENCI:

Group Coordinator: Drago Kolesar

Marica Horvatović

Stjepan Horvatović

Kata Kadić

Manda Karovidović

Pavo Karovidović

Luka Kokanović

Mato Kokanović

Manda Matašević

Franjo Matasović

Marija Matasović

Durda Matić

Duro Matić

Marija Matić

Iosip Mihić

Manda Plašić

Durda Užarević

Marija Užarović

Group from ŠIŠKOVCI:

Adam Knežević

Vinko Knežević

Antun Toldi

Franjo Toldi

Mato Toldi

Group from NOVI SAD:

Group Coordinator: Sava Vukosavljev

Tvrđeva Orchestra featuring Janika Balaz

Participants from America

BALKAN SERENADERS from Lackawanna, N.Y.

Charlie Bukovich

Nick (Tillie) Klaich

Vlad Popovich

Charlie Smilinich

Steve Vranjes

BALKAN SERENADERS from Youngstown, Ohio.

Dave Egercic

Melvyn Evanovich

Steve Markulin

Paul Milanovich

BANAT TAMBURITZANS from Elizabeth, N.J.:

Walter Bachinich

Zdravko Jezdimir

Walter and Milutin Yezdimir

POPOVICH BROTHERS from Chicago, Ill.:

Pete Mistovich

Adam, Marko and Ted Popovich

SLOBODA from Pittsburgh, Penn.:

Coordinator: Joe Grčevich

BRITISH ISLES MUSIC, SONG, AND DANCE TRADITIONS

From England, Scotland, Ireland and America

Consultant: Dr. Kenneth S. Goldstein

Workshop leaders: Kay Cothran, Dr. Kenneth S. Goldstein

Ralph Aldous—*Fiddler*, Adirondacks

Ted Ashlaw—*Singer*, Adirondacks

Sam Bayard—*Fife and whistle player, fiddler*, Penn.

The Boys of the Lough

Aly Bain—*Fiddler*, Shetland

Cathal McConnell—*Ballad singer, flute and whistle player*, North Ireland

Robin Morton—*Ballad singer, concertina and bodhran player*, North Ireland

Dave Richardson—*Ballad singer, instrumentalist*, England

Sara Cleveland—*Ballad singer, story teller*, Adirondacks

Kay Cothran—*Singer*, Ga.

Hazel Dickens—*Singer*, W.Va.

Jimmy Driftwood—*Ballad singer, story-teller*, Ozarks

Roscoe Holcomb—*Singer, banjo player*, Ky.

Norman Kennedy—*Ballad singer, story-teller*, Aberdeen

Lou Killen—*Ballad singer, story-teller and instrumentalist*, N.E. England

Margot Mayo—*Dance caller*, Texas

Owen McBride—*Ballad singer, story-teller*, Ireland

Larry Older—*Fiddler, ballad singer, story-teller*, Adirondacks

Maggi Peirce—*Singer, story teller*, North Ireland

Almeda Riddle—*Singer*, Ozarks

Jean Ritchie—*Ballad singer, story-teller, dulcimer player*, Ky.

Grant Rogers—*Fiddler, ballad singer, story-teller*, N.Y.

Wilf Wareham—*Singer*, Newfoundland outport

Nimrod Workman—*Singer, story-teller*, W.Va.

AFRICAN TRADITIONS

From the Republic of the Gambia:

Al Haji Bai Konte—*Kora player*

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National Association of Home Builders
National Concrete Masonry Assoc.
National Terazzo & Mosaic Assoc.
Promotion Fund
Plasticrete Corp.
Portland Cement Assoc.
Sheet Metal Contractors Assoc.
Stoney Hurst Quarries
Thos. Somerville Co.
United Clay Products Co.
United States Gypsum Assoc.
Waco Scaffold & Shoring Co.
Walter C. Campbell Co., Washington,
D.C.
Washington, D.C. Joint Plumbing
Apprenticeship Committee
Washington, D.C. Joint Steamfitting
Apprenticeship Committee
York Corrugating Co., Washington, D.C.

Old Ways

Etnografski Muzej
Institut Za Narodnu Umetnost
Muzikološki Institut
Smotra folklora
Yugoslav Information Center
FAISECTC (Federal Administration for
Internal Scientific Educational Cultural
and Technical Coop.)

Festival

Consumer's Supermarkets
Eastern Market Pottery

Food Fair Supermarkets

The Kiln Club of Washington, D.C.
Howard Johnson's Motor Lodge
National Bank of Washington
Noxell Corp.
Riggs National Bank
Suburban Trust Co.
Woodward and Lothrop
Gillette Co.
Coca-Cola Bottling Co.
Seven-Up Co.
Royal Crown-Nehi Bottling Co.

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A NOTE ON FIDDLE MUSIC IN AMERICAN LIFE

Richard Blaustein

Fiddle music has been a part of American life since the time of the first permanent settlements by colonists from the British Isles and France. The rich diversity of local and regional fiddling traditions in the United States and Canada is a faithful record in musical form of North America's history. Because the fiddle was light, inexpensive, small, and relatively sturdy, it was ideally suited to the needs of pioneers, who carried it with them wherever they went, playing the tunes of the Old World and creating new pieces and performance techniques of their own. The fiddle was one of the few outlets for creative expression and sources of entertainment available. Fiddle music reflected the basic law of pioneer life: make the most of the resources at hand or do without.

Until the turn of this century, before technological revolutions transformed American rural life, the only music available to rural communities was still that which their families, friends, and neighbors knew and played, and much of that was fiddle music. Except where religious belief prohibited secular music and dancing, the fiddle was played at all sorts of informal and formal gatherings: house parties, square dances, corn-shuckings, tobacco-strippings, molasses stir-offs, watermelon slicings, fox hunts, barbeques, rodeos, school programs, talent shows, and minstrel shows. Fiddlers' contests and conventions are known to have been held in Virginia as early as 1742.

Since 1900 old time fiddling had had to compete with a welter of musical styles and other types of

Walt Koken of Highwoods String Band 1st Prize Fiddler, 1972 Festival of American Folklife

entertainment, yet, the tradition has not died out entirely. In fact, in the last ten years it has been experiencing what amounts to a renaissance. Fiddle contests have been growing tremendously in size and number and have become more important as meeting grounds for traditional musicians than they were in the past. Organizations devoted to the active preservation and perpetuation of old time fiddling have been proliferating so rapidly in the last few years that it is hard to keep up with their growth, since 1963 over twenty such groups have been started in various states and provinces. Also, a number of small recording companies have emerged recently catering primarily to lovers of traditional music, a listening audience that has been largely ignored by the mass communications industry for a good many years.

Taking part in the revival are young people, city-born and country-born alike, along with middle-aged and older folks who grew up with traditional music and never forgot it. Together they share an appreciation of a facet of our national heritage that had been derided and scorned in the past by people aspiring to "Culture." The old familiar stereotype of the country fiddler as a clumsy-fingered yokel scratching out endless, mindless ditties was the direct product of a narrow and superficial concept of "art" and "culture," which is now happily in the process of fading away.

Old time fiddling at its best is a genuinely great art. It has dignity and complexity, yet it is down to earth; it draws heavily upon past accomplishments, yet provides ample room for individual creativity. No one knows how many thousands of tunes have been reshaped and renewed since the first fiddlers settled here, or how many musical gems have been lost forever, or how many natural geniuses lived and died unknown to the world outside their little communities, but what has been left to us shows clearly that sensitivity to beauty and delight in the simple things of life run deep in our national character. And for that reason fiddle music should be a source of national pride.

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QUILTING — A TRADITION OF INGENUITY, IMAGINATION AND SKILL

Patricia Mastick



Quilt makers from Booneville, Kentucky, work on a windmill pattern quilt. Photo by Jan Faul.

"We used to make quilts from scraps, out of necessity. Now we make them real beautiful and fancy."
—70-year-old Mormon Woman
Santa Monica, California
February 9, 1971

Quiltmaking is a traditional American art form which continues to be a vital part of contemporary life. Quilts are to be found in every state of the union. Even Hawaiians have been making them since the 1820s. Whether for decoration or warmth, quilts have provided a vehicle for creative expression for centuries.

Quilting consists of joining two or more layers of fabric together by sewing through them. The first quilts, brought to this country by settlers from Western Europe, quickly wore out from constant use. Without imported goods or a native cloth industry, quilts were continually being repaired in a random fashion with scraps of old clothing. These were the first "crazy quilts." Though the early settlers must have had little time to be concerned with adornment, their early patchworks undoubtedly showed much aesthetic forethought.

By 1770, clipper ships were supplying the Eastern seaboard with bolts of imported cloth, and native-made fabric was readily available. As a result, those who could afford this fabric were able to make quilts out of "whole cloth." Others, particularly pioneer women, were forced to depend upon their own hand-woven fabric and scraps of commercially

printed cotton which they lovingly saved and eventually pieced together to make patchwork quilts. These two trends in 18th-century quiltmaking epitomize the major types of American quilts. The "whole cloth" quilts were either quilted counterpanes or appliquéd quilts. The quilted counterpane, often white, was formed by sewing around the outline of the design which had been drawn on the top layer of the quilt. These designs were often padded or stuffed with cording. Some women simply quilted the patterns on the printed fabric. The appliquéd—or laid-on—quilt was formed from pieces of material arranged in a pattern and sewn on a solid-colored background material. The appliquéd quilt reached its height of popularity by 1850. Especially popular was the appliquéd "Bride Quilt," made by a newly-engaged woman, incorporating hearts in an elaborate design.

The patchwork or pieced quilt, the classic American quilt, was made by sewing together small pieces of material in geometric patterns to form the quilt top. It was customary for an American girl to have made a dozen patchwork quilts by the time she reached marriageable age. Many patterns and arrangements of those patterns, as well as quilt names, were created. The enormous variation in quilt patterns is exemplified by the star patterns—of which there are more than 100 extant. One such variant was the Lone Star. Another popular pattern group was the Rose, the most common being the Rose of Sharon Religion, occupations, politics, nature, and social activities influenced the names of the quilts. The materials used reflected changes in fashion and life experiences.

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"There is a heap of comfort in making quilts, just to sit and sort over the pieces and call to mind that this piece or that is of the dress of a loved friend" (Aunt Jane of Kentucky)

Album quilts, also known as friendship or presentation quilts, were a very special form of patchwork quilt. Pieced and signed blocks were donated by friends, sewn together at an album party, and presented to a friend upon marriage, or to a minister's wife or other honored person. The crazy quilt is another distinct type of patchwork quilt characterized by a random arrangement of different-sized patches. Superseded for a while by the patterned patchwork quilt, it was revived about 1800 in the couch throws made of silks, velvets, and satins with embroidered seams. There are other variations of patchwork quilts such as the yoyo, biscuit, and cathedral window. Tied quilts, made by tying individual threads to form the design rather than quilting, are also traditional.

By 1890 ready-made garments marked the end of quiltmaking as a common household activity. Revivals occurred in 1915 and after both World Wars. The 1960's brought the strongest revival, however. Quiltmaking never disappeared during the 20th century, but rather has been of varying importance for different groups of people. For some, quilts remained a necessity; for others, they were always a luxury.

As a record of ingenuity, imagination in design, and skill in craftsmanship, the quilt has always been highly recognized. Today, cooperatives such as the Martin Luther King Quilting Bee, Alberta, Alabama, are preserving this traditional art form and meeting the consumer demand for quilts. Church groups such as the Mennonites and guilds like the Mountain Mist Quilters Club often provide quilting services for individuals. These groups have much in common with the early quilting bees—the creative, sharing nature of every phase of the quilting process—from the trading of scraps and patterns, to the quilting at "bees" or parties, to the presentation of the quilt as a gift. Sources for patterns have certainly grown beyond word-of-mouth; the Mountain Blue Book of Quilts has provided patterns since 1846. Other sources include Aunt Martha's Studios Quilting Books, and Quilter's Newsletter Patterns come in several forms: outline patterns on varying grades of white paper, perforated patterns for marking quilt tops; templates (patterns made from a durable material) traditionally of cardboard or tin and more recently, of plastic. Ready-made kits with the pieces pre-cut are also available.

Quilts have commonly been made with the use of either a quilting frame or a hoop. The backing is laid

down first; the batting, traditionally cotton (now available in dacron), is placed on top of it; the top, which has already been pieced or marked, is placed over the batting. All three layers are basted together (very closely if done off the frame). The quilting is done with short, running stitches which penetrate all three layers. "A beautiful quilt is one which has tiny stitches. You must quilt quite close; it's good to have a pattern with not more than a 2½ to 3" square left without quilting." (Louisa Ahlgrim, Santa Monica, Calif.) Mrs. Ahlgrim, when director of the quilting at her church's workday, had been known to bring quilt tops to meetings to teach young women in the group how to quilt and then take the quilts home and redo much of the sewing so that it would be perfect.

The edges of a quilt have always been finished in various ways. Trim or flounce can be added; the top and backing can be turned in so that they are flush with one another and then blind-stitched. The top or backing can be turned over one or the other to form a contrasting border.

That quiltmaking remains a popular, widespread activity can be judged by the number of quilts still to be found at state fairs and quilt shows such as the one at Huronia County, Ontario, Canada each September. Quilts continue to be made because they provide necessary creative expression for both the individual and the community.

ELECTRIC BLANKETS—BEWARE!!

The luxuriously warm weight of the quilt is still to be reckoned with.

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WORKING AMERICANS

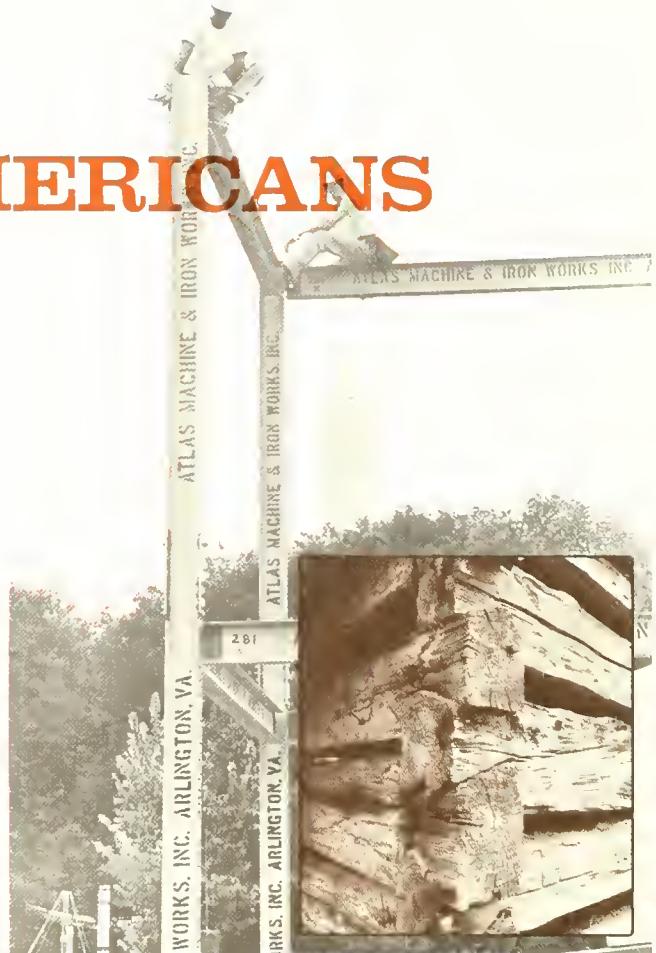
This year the Festival of American Folklife will begin a new theme presentation entitled Working Americans. The presentation of working peoples' skills, crafts, and lore began in 1971 and continued in 1972 when the presentation was known as the Union Workers Exhibit, featuring ten member unions of the AFL-CIO.

Working Americans differs from these earlier efforts in numerous ways most substantially in the consideration of how working people serve human needs and how their skills and expressions have shaped a major national festival to celebrate the nation's 200th birthday.

Looking back to 1876, when America celebrated her 100th birthday with a huge international fair in the city of Philadelphia, we can gain a perspective of the Smithsonian Institution's involvement. Two great exhibit halls—the Industrial Hall and the Machine Hall—were a major attraction in Philadelphia. These halls presented exciting exhibits which were intended to represent "the flower and first fruition of the seed planted by patriotism." As visitors were given to understand in 1876 the flower was made of iron and the first fruit was the machine. The two halls announced a new branch of human achievement known as Industrial Art.

Following the Philadelphia exhibition the Smithsonian acquired 21 freight car loads of exhibition material from 30 countries, which led to the establishment in 1879 of the National Museum and its Arts and Industries Building.

The establishment of the National Museum also led to a penetrating study of museums by Smithsonian Assistant Secretary George Brown Goode who suggested that man himself should be the grand



theme to bind together the objects in the museum; the collections would "impart a consistent and systematic idea of the resources of the world and of human achievement." As we consider the themes and activities for a Bicentennial program, we recognize that a presentation of man and the record of his accomplishments over the past 200 years in America is not possible without the inclusion of the American worker—seen together with the national collections of his machines and artifacts.

Working Americans in 1973 will feature "Workers Who Build Our Shelter," to be followed in future years by exploration of those workers who provide our food and other needs. Shelter is a significant subject with which to begin recognizing that "House" is one of the most frequently used words in many languages. From the pages of American life and the accumulation of our traditions, working people will construct house-types and shelters as developed by Northern Plains Indians, Arkansas settlers, urban planners and suburban architects. We are grateful to the sponsors and to the people themselves who can teach us much about their craft, their history and traditions.

James R. Morris
Director, Division of Performing Arts,
Smithsonian Institution

WASHINGTON BRICKLAYERS— “THE TRADE’S BEEN GOOD TO ME”

Ruth Jordan



“So you hold a card and you draw good pay and hospitalization and insurance . . . that’s all important. But there’s something else that’s important about being a bricklayer, the challenge of the job. I love to see it done right.” Morris Moore has been a bricklayer since the 1930’s and he has never tired of his trade.

“I feel better when I’m working. I’m going to keep on working as long as I can. Bricklaying has been good to me.” Guy Kuhn will be 83 on July 17. Except for a short stay in the hospital in 1966, he hasn’t missed a working day since he took out his card in Bricklayers Local #1 in Washington, D.C., in 1911.

And Morris Moore, Jr., the younger man, says it articulately. “Bricklaying has always been important—as far back as Biblical times. . . . Each day is a challenge and the awareness of this challenge makes it exciting. Who knows, the building you might be working on might get an award. . . . You don’t get the public glory, but you know your craftsmanship made that award possible. It’s good to tell your children.”

The father, the son, and the old bricklayer came to the trade because it was a good job. But they are all part of a tradition of pride in the exacting, mathematical quality of the work that also excited the aristocratic, intellectual Winston Churchill. Churchill reported in his memoirs that one of his proudest moments came when the British bricklayers union made him a member in recognition of his own brick work on his estate.

The three men are all members of Local #1, one of four locals representing bricklayers, stonemasons, and tile and terrazzo workers in the District of Columbia. The local is 100 years old, one of the original units in the 108-year old international union.

It is an American mixture of Scotch and Italian immigrants, Blacks, and first-generation Americans. They lay their brick Eastern style here—a long layer of mortar, enough for “four-five-six brick at a time.” In other parts of the country, west of Indianapolis and in New England, they use the “Pick and Dip” method. The bricklayer puts down just enough mortar for one brick. Oddly enough, productivity under both methods is the same.

Guy Kuhn remembers the first brick he laid, when he was 10 years old in Hanover, Pennsylvania. “My father was in the construction business and I used to go out on jobs after school or on Saturday and lay brick.”

He came to Washington, D.C., on the day after Christmas in 1911. “All you could see then was horse-drawn sleighs driving down Pennsylvania Avenue.” He joined Bricklayers Local #1 and has been on the job ever since.

Kuhn is known by bricklayers all over the city. He has worked suspended high over the Potomac and down in the subterranean depths of Washington’s garages . . . always with a big cigar clenched between his teeth . . . a steady, compact man.

“I worked on the Lincoln Memorial in 1916—that’s all stone backed up with hard tile, 12 inches by 4 inches wide. I worked on the Jefferson Memorial and the swimming pool at the White House. We had to work at night, and FDR would come out late to watch us. He always had a drink this high in

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83-year-old Guy Kuhn, a journeyman member, Local 1, of the Bricklayers, Masons & Plasterers since 1911, demonstrates "laying brick to the line" as co-worker "butters the joints." Photo by Lou Hollis

his hand" (he indicates about 12 ounces). "But he never offered us any."

Guy Kuhn lives in a room on Sheridan Street in Northwest Washington. He says bricklayers in the Washington area have always had a private social life, although, "We do go down to the hall for a card game now and then." That, says Kuhn, "has been going on for a long time."

Morris Moore has two sons and they both followed him in the trade. He's very proud of it.

His eldest son, Morris Moore, Jr., remembers: "He used to show us where he worked and tell us, 'I worked on this job or I worked on this school.' Now I do the same with my children."

When Morris Moore, Sr., came to Washington, D.C., from Caroline County, Va., he had only a few dollars in his pocket. Those were the Depression years.

"I wrote home and asked my mother for money, but she only sent me a bus ticket home. I stayed on in construction in Washington, working as a laborer, earning 40 cents an hour. I didn't eat anything from one lunch to another."

Moore learned bricklaying from the contractor he was working for, and joined Local #1 when union contractors were constructing buildings on Howard University's campus. He was one of the first Black members of the local, which now has more than one-third Black membership. His son Morris was the local's first Black apprentice.

Moore is a deeply religious man. A trustee of the Vermont Avenue Baptist Church, his social life revolves around church activities—"about 95 percent of the time." His wife Beatrice leads one of the church choirs, taking the singing group on tours to New York, St. Louis, and through the South.

Moore thinks union bricklayers in Washington don't share much of a social life, but says it's not the same in other parts of the country. When there was no work here, Moore traveled to jobs in Pennsylvania.

"We were invited into other men's homes. All you had to be was another bricklayer. We drank their homemade wine, went around to their saloons, we had a wonderful time."

He's sorry union men around here don't get as involved with the local. Since 1956 he's been a foreman but still attends most meetings.

"There are 1100 men in the local. When the meeting is held on Saturday you can find 100 or 150 men there, and in an election maybe 4 to 5 hundred will vote. It's their own fault for whatever happens."

Moore got involved as soon as he became a member. He's served as a convention delegate in the past. "If you don't get active you shouldn't squawk about the way things are done."

You get a strong sense of this handsome man's

principles in the sure way he talks about his values, and even from the outside of his polished, white brick house off North Capitol Street.

You aren't surprised when you hear about his wife's battle to keep the street clean by sweeping it herself.

Moore was pleased when his two sons went into the trade, but he believes every youngster should get as much education as possible, even if he will take up a trade.

"The only drawback to bricklaying is the seasonal nature of the work. You only work eight months out of the year. The trouble with most bricklayers is that they live in the summer as if they were going to have it all year 'round."

Union bricklayers learn their trade in a three-year apprenticeship program. A satisfactory apprentice makes the grade when he becomes a journeyman bricklayer. At that point he's considered qualified to work just about any job. But being a journeyman doesn't guarantee him work. He still must apply to the contractor, take the layoffs when there's no work, sit at home when it's cold and it snows and building grinds to a halt.

Moore feels strongly that workers trained in this apprenticeship program are better workers.

Morris Moore, Jr., has built his own reputation as a top-quality bricklayer. When he first came on as an apprentice he was very green. "Everyone respected my father, though, and they treated me well. Their primary object was to make me a competent bricklayer."

Moore Jr. doesn't think the younger men have the same respect for the journeymen that he had. "I was afraid to talk back to a bricklayer. . . . These tellers have a different attitude. We try to give them the same concept, that it's our duty to teach them and theirs to learn. But most of them are just interested in eight hours' work."

Moore had thought about becoming an architect at one time but isn't sorry he remained a bricklayer. "You go through different stages in this trade. In the first ten or fifteen years you think you are the best. Each person you work with is a challenge. You compete against the others to see how many bricks you can lay and how good a job you can do. But later on, you don't think about it that way. You compete with yourself in the quality of work you can turn out."

The younger Moore worked on the Washington Post building—the newest all-brick building in Washington, D.C. It contained many different kinds of masonry and represented a challenge to the skill of the bricklayer. "When you can do it all in a way that satisfies you, then I guess you can say you feel peace and harmony."

ANOTHER TOOL IN THE CARPENTER'S CHEST

Archie Green

Within the large boundaries of American Society we recognize that certain sets of people are *folk*, generally by virtue of their singing particular songs or by retaining distinct lifestyles. Persons in folk societies, to some degree, accept the notion that they stand apart from mainstream values. In my personal introduction to carpentry during 1941 (learning the shipwright's craft in San Francisco, Local 1149, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America), I was not led to think that our trade had been touched by folklore. Perhaps western cowboys, mountain banjo pickers, or Amish farmers might be categorized as *folk*, but not ordinary woodbutchers and termites. Yet today, after three decades of talking and listening to carpenters and other building tradesmen, I have come to an understanding that all mechanics, in some measure, cherish traditions which are special to their skills.

Carpenters are well aware of these working *hand-me-downs*. However, they do not use academic or ethnographic terms to describe their trade's traditional behavior: customary beliefs, special slang, tool nicknames, job humor, training techniques, union loyalty. In a sense, carpenters are too busy working to afford the luxury of sitting back to reflect on their special culture. Actually, all skilled workers draw on some traditional expression to convey work practices to apprentices or to build solidarity against alien forces. Nevertheless, an appreciation of their tradition does help "workers in wood" deal with each other as well as with the world beyond the trade.

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One of the purposes of the Festival of American Folklife is to permit the broad public to observe craftsmen at work and to talk with them face to face about working experience. A by-product of this interaction is that the Festival's craft participants become conscious of their roles as teachers. Naturally, mechanics on all urban construction sites know that *sidewalk superintendents* enjoy gawking at work in progress. (Building tradesmen also take *mailmen's holidays* by walking to other sites.) Only infrequently do construction men converse with street watchers. The Festival setting, however, provides an excellent platform from which carpenters can describe their adventures to countless supers.

In this brief sketch a few anecdotal bits and pieces are offered which reflect *lumberpile* behavior. I do not mean to suggest that a microphone or camera was concealed in an actual job-site lumberpile. Rather, I wish these words to suggest the casual give-and-take of the noon period when men drop their tools to touch each other with talk, banter, or gesture. Obviously, there is a figurative lumberpile wherever carpenters gather: union halls, bars, cafes, unemployment offices, apprenticeship training centers. One such spot, Carpenters Local 132, is housed within a fifteen-minute walk of the Smithsonian Institution's old stone castle on the Mall.

Listen to Tom Rabbitt, age 25, Marine Corps veteran, apprentice member of Local 1665 in Alexandria, Virginia: "I got out of service and worked non-union as a helper at housebuilding. Working conditions were a bummer. The man wanted you to work all kinds of hours for little or no pay, so I said, 'I'll go union!'"

At one level to "go union" is simply a matter of signing cards, paying dues, and accepting ritual. But at another level, unionism is linking hands with fellow workers to share strength and alter inhumane conditions. Hear old-timer George Brown of Local 1024, Cumberland, Maryland: "When I was growing up the textile and rubber workers first tried to organize their plants in Allegheny County. The deputies came in and beat them to the ground. That was wrong, dead wrong." Unionism is defined here not in a narrow jurisdictional frame, but rather in a large context of moral solidarity, of open fellowship.

I can quote Tom Rabbitt's and George Brown's words because I jotted them down after I met the men. On many walks to and from my present office job, I have talked casually to construction men in downtown Washington. One rainy day a Metro subway foreman (actually an out-of-town piledriver) revealed to me a sharp blend of pride and complaint. The day was tough and the foreman was in the lee of a huge earth-moving machine near Dupont Circle. I was a sympathetic listener by reason of my





Members of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America enjoy the challenge of working with solid oak and placing gold leaf trim fitted together in $\frac{1}{2}$ " sections like a jig-saw puzzle. Naturally, hard hats are worn on outside construction, but this is finishing off the interior of the Grand Ballroom of the Loew's Hotel, L'Enfant Plaza.

former ambivalence about rainy days. It had been distressing to be sent home because of docked pay; it had been marvelous to have a free day to indulge one's whims. Perhaps the *pilebutt* sensed my comradeship. His talk was familiar enough to have been conveyed to me long ago in California by one of the journeymen from whom I learned the trade. In appropriate droll language the piledriver griped: "When I was a boy my mother told me to stay in school and study. But I was a wise guy and played hookey. And now look at me, a dummy, I have to slave in the rain." This was a complaint and expressed in mock sorrowful language—almost a brag. My friend-of-the-moment was a master at ironic commentary. We both knew that the water dripping off his blue hard hat symbolized not stupidity but strength.

How do carpenters develop the discipline to handle rough out-of-doors work, and the resilience to switch quickly from dangerous mucky footings to detailed interior trim? Does one see a job through from blueprints to the key-in-the-door, or does one get laid off before the job ends? How does one adjust to major technological change that comes within a lifetime with overwhelming rapidity? Must pride-in-craft always be sacrificed on the altar of productivity? What does a mechanic do who is dissatisfied with pasting together plastic hamburger stands? How is a good job defined?

Anthony Giaquinta now trains carpentry apprentices; formerly he ran heavy work on such giant projects as the Rayburn Congressional Office Building. Tony rapped with me recently about his own breaking-in period: "When the man told me to move a ton of crap, I started right in—one shovelful at a time." Struck by the pungency of this figure of speech, I also noted that it was a powerful metaphor for much of life. I refrained from asking Tony whether he knew that Hercules before him as part of his twelve labors had cleaned the Augean Stables "one shovelful at a time." Nor did I ask Tony whether he had made up this anecdotal illustration of job discipline, or whether he heard it from an older worker. Does it matter? As a folklorist I know that he utilized a traditional verbal expression in defining his role as a good carpenter as well as to lighten his work burden. Brother Giaquinta used this linguistic construct as beautifully and economically as he used a saw and hammer—to cut away material, to assemble new meanings, to shape reality.

In bringing together these random conversational bits, I am aware that I have avoided a full catalog of conventional folklore; there are no dramatic ballads in my sketch, no close description of a job initiation prank, no detailed analysis of a cabinet maker's "performance" in the shop, no legends about union pioneer Peter J. McGuire. Nor have I spun a web of trade nicknames. Who can identify *whiskey stick*, *Swede hand axe*, *Norwegian steam*, or *dollar mark*? Who has been sent to fetch a pair of board stretchers? What does the eagle do on payday? Where is the golden rivet driven?

Some day a young carpenter will be caught up by the study of folklore and will undertake an ethnographic description of his trade. What dynamics, today, mold the attitudes of men towards work? Where are tools collected and displayed? Where did the joiners who fashioned Solomon's Temple gain their skill? Was Noah the first shipwright? What query about carpentry did Hamlet put to the grave-digger? What role did Philadelphia's Carpenter's Hall play in our nation's origin? Are such old questions still meaningful to the workers who pave America with cloverleaf intersections, or who plant little box houses in urban wastelands?

Hopefully, a carpentry apprentice—perhaps a Smithsonian Festival participant or visitor—will soon become curious about his usage of craft tradition. The studies of history, anthropology, and folklore need not be strange to building tradesmen. Anyone who can read a complex set of plans, or who can look into an excavation and see a soaring building rising out of the hole can handle ethnographic data. To reflect on the traditional aspect of our trade is but to sharpen another tool in the carpenter's chest.

MARCUS GARVEY, POPULAR MUSIC AND JAZZ

Richard B. Allen

The folk and popular music of Black people in the United States is rarely studied as topical. However, this body of music reflects its times, and to be fully understood, must be seen in as complete a human context as possible. It helps in hearing the music to know and understand the underlying philosophies and local cultural references that produced blues and jazz topical themes.

For example, two topical songs, "West Indies Blues," and "Black Star Line," were closely intertwined with the life and times of Marcus Garvey and his ability to stir the imagination of the Black population.

Marcus Garvey was a Jamaican immigrant who came to the United States in 1916 to organize the New York chapter of his Universal Negro Improvement Association (U.N.I.A.). His activities were world-wide, but his most important work was done in the United States. The force of his promotional ability caused the U.N.I.A. to grow rapidly into the largest and most powerful all-Black organization the nation had ever seen. Three principal goals of his organization were: the unity of Black people, the establishment of an African colony, and the establishment of Black businesses. He is best remembered as a masterful orator, and politician, but he was also a writer, poet, and song lyricist. The newspaper he established in Harlem was called by his critics "the best edited colored weekly in New York."

At first the work for his organization was mainly

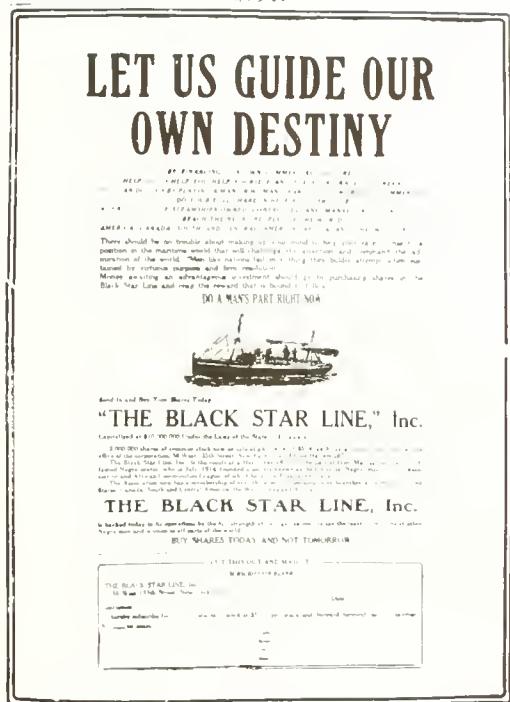


Marcus Garvey in 1922.

speeches and meetings. Sometime in 1919 he projected the idea of an all-Negro steamship company that would link the African peoples of the world commercially. He began collecting money to buy ships for this promised Black Star Line. Drawn from Booker T. Washington's philosophy that Negroes must be independent of white capital and operate their own business activities, the Black Star Line was a supremely audacious move that aroused great excitement among Blacks. Even the poorest person had the chance to be a stockholder in a big business enterprise. Sales of Black Star stock were limited to Negroes.

Under pressure from New York's assistant district attorney to make the promised fleet a reality, Garvey purchased his first ship, the S.S. Yarmouth. The sale was made by a New York cotton broker who was out to take the Black Star Line and its officers for as large a sum as possible. To Negroes who read about the actuality of a steamship managed by a Negro Company, manned by a Black crew, Garvey's name was magic. During 1919/20, thousands of shares of stock were sold at five dollars a share to Black people all over the country. It was at this point that Columbia Records issued a phonograph record of a popular song, "Black Star Line" (No. 14024D, performed by George and Roscoe). The reverse of the record was a piece entitled "My Jamaica." "Black Star Line" is about maritime exploits. The song was copyrighted in 1924 and recorded by at least three singers. It was done in a parody of a West Indian accent.

Richard Allen is the Curator of the Archive of New Orleans Jazz, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana



Unfortunately Garvey's business acumen did not match his promotional ability, and after a series of mismanagement episodes encouraged by editorial agitation and complaints by a few stockholders, early in 1922 Garvey was arrested on a charge of using the mails to defraud. Postal authorities charged that Garvey and the Black Star Line had knowingly used fraudulent representations and deceptive circulars in the sale of stock through the mails and had advertised and sold space on a mythical vessel. Garvey was indicted and when the trial was postponed, released on bail.

Garvey was found guilty, sentenced to five years in prison, and fined \$1,000. While his appeal was being drawn up, his attorneys arranged for his release on \$25,000 bail. During this period, awaiting appeal, Garvey organized still another maritime venture, the Black Cross Navigation and Trading Company. It was chartered to engage in trade between various areas with large Negro populations and Garvey intended that its vessels would also be used to carry American Negro colonists to Africa.

In 1924 Garvey was indicted for perjury and income tax evasion. The timing of this arrest, on the heels of the growing success of the U.N.I.A., seemed to indicate that the government was determined to harass and embarrass Garvey. There was no evidence that he ever drew the \$10,000 salary on which he was accused of not paying taxes, and years later the U.S. abandoned its income tax evasion case and ordered the charges against Garvey non-prosecuted.

On February 25, 1925, Garvey's appeal of his mail

fraud conviction was rejected, and on February 8, he entered Atlanta penitentiary. Through the continued efforts of the U.N.I.A. to obtain a presidential pardon, and possibly because Garvey's domestic political organization, the Negro Political Union, was active in the 1924 campaign, President Calvin Coolidge commuted Garvey's sentence in 1927. Since Garvey was not a U.S. citizen and had been convicted of a felony, U.S. immigration laws required his immediate deportation as an undesirable alien. Early in December 1927, without being permitted to visit his headquarters in New York, Garvey was taken to New Orleans and put aboard a ship bound for the West Indies.

Throughout the thirties, operating from Jamaica and then London, Garvey tirelessly tried to recapture his triumph of the twenties. But the worsening world situation forced the attention of everyone away from international things to narrow local concerns. Marcus Garvey died in London of a stroke on June 10, 1940.

In 1923 the Clarence Williams Music Publishing Company copyrighted "West Indies Blues." At the same time there was not only a great interest in Garvey but also a bitter resentment brewing between Blacks born in the U.S. and the West Indians who immigrated here. Clarence Williams knew the market and was well-known among phonograph record company executives, entertainers, composers, and musicians. He was a hustler and was able to convince groups to record and play the song. Among recordings I have discovered are three instrumental versions by orchestras, two by Armand J. Piron's, one by Fletcher Henderson's; one by a novelty band, the Jamaica Jazzers. At least five singers recorded the tune: Clara Smith, Esther Bigeou, Ukulele (sic) Bob Williams, Viola McCoy, and Rosa Henderson. Their efforts were all geared to the Black record buyers of the day. Marcus Garvey inspired lyrics, jingles, slogans, songs. Of the two songs I have mentioned, "Black Star Line" disappeared and "West Indies Blues" was picked up and carried from his time to ours. Jazz bands in honky tonks picked out the tune. It entered the folk tradition. George Lewis' and Punch Miller's Bands played it as recently as the 1960's. The Love-Jiles Ragtime Orchestra, which included members of the Piron Orchestra recorded "West Indies Blues" in 1960. The New Orleans Ragtime Orchestra occasionally play an arrangement from 1924. And Max Roach dedicated his recording of "Motherless Child" to Marcus Garvey.

So Marcus Garvey continues to stir the imagination. The next time you hear "West Indies Blues" maybe you'll think about him. At any rate, the relationship between popular music and historical events bears more looking into.

GOSPEL: A LIVING MUSICAL TRADITION

Walter E. Kennedy, III



The Negro Spiritual is a continuation of an African musical tradition that includes songs of praise, work songs, mourning songs and songs of ridicule. The Spiritual almost always laments earthly conditions and readily concedes to the need of spiritual deliverance to a state where all earthly troubles will cease. Reflecting the immediate concerns of the people who created it, the Spiritual is rarely a mere celebration of God's love, power or glory. In the African tradition—Spirituals had a social, educational and political function. They were employed to summon community worship, to instill Christian ethics into young children and to relay coded messages about escape from slavery which only the slaves could understand.

Gospel, however, is another story. Gospel music is a continuation of the Spiritual and readily employs elements of blues, ragtime, jazz and all manner of rhythmic devices found therein. Ironically, one of Gospel's major roots, is the 18th-century English hymn. Somehow, stark images of "fountains filled with blood," "amazing grace," and "Jordan's stormy banks" were more descriptive of the Afro-American post-Emancipation experience than the ornate language of the Spiritual, and when sung in long or common meter in church services provided an opportunity for melodic variation and embellishments by each singer.

Today, hymns such as "The Day is Past and Gone," "Never Grow Old" and "Amazing Grace" can elicit unbelievable emotional response from an audience when sung by a singer who possesses a

mastery of melodic improvisation and a great sensitivity for the lyric.

The road to what we refer to as Gospel is not without some brilliant landmarks personified by certain composers, arrangers, musicians, preachers and singers.

In 1871 the Fisk Jubilee Singers popularized the Negro Spiritual by touring and performing throughout the U.S. and Europe.

Near the turn of the century, C. H. Tindley began composing songs that were neither hymns nor Spirituals. He combined poetic imagery and Black colloquialisms with melodies that appealed to Blacks. Tindley is the composer of "Take Your Burdens to the Lord," "We'll Understand it Better By and By," "Stand by Me" and most notably, "I'll Overcome," known today as "We Shall Overcome."

The most significant Gospel composer, however, is Thomas A. Dorsey, who before his entrance into Gospel music had been a prolific blues composer and pianist. As "Georgia Tom" he accompanied both Ma Rainey and her protegee, Bessie Smith, and provided some of the most notorious double-entendre Blues ever written.

Inspired by Tindley, Dorsey's genius as a poet and Blues musician manifested itself in the well-loved Gospel songs "My Desire," "When I've Done the Best I Can," "I've Got to Live the Life I Sing About in My Song," "Peace in the Valley" and most notably, "Precious Lord, Take My Hand."

A major force behind Dorsey's success was Sallie Martin, a vocalist who traveled with him throughout the country between 1932 and 1944 performing Dorsey compositions, organizing choirs and ensembles, and teaching them arrangements of Dorsey



Pilot Knob Missionary Baptist Church, Bobtown, Kentucky. Photo by Jan Faul

material.

In the late thirties Rev. W. Herbert Brewster of Memphis, Tennessee, composed "How I Got Over" and "Move On Up a Little Higher" with which vocalist Mahalia Jackson rode out of Chicago to assume a throne as the "Queen of Gospel." She was the first Gospel singer to win international acclaim, and possessed one of the greatest vocal instruments that American music has produced.

Gospel music has produced outstanding male and female soloists, trios, quartets, ensembles and choirs featuring a great variety of styles. Most notable singers are Alex Bradford, Brother Joe May and Rev. James Cleveland. Female soloists include Clara Ward, Marion Williams, Bessie Griffin, Delois Barrett Campbell and Rosetta Tharpe.

The great male groups include The Five Blind Boys, the Golden Gate Quartet, the Soul Stirrers, the Swan Silvertones and the Dixie Hummingbirds. The Ward Singers, the Caravans, the Stars of Faith, the Davis Sisters and Dorothy Love Coates and the Original Gospel Harmonettes comprise leading female ensembles. Major choirs have been the Angelic Choir, the Edwin Hawkins Singers and the Southern California Community Choir.

Gospel music continues to be a means through which Afro-Americans celebrate the mysteries and realities of their physical and spiritual existence operating through a force that can move, strengthen and revitalize the human spirit.

Behold, listen and feel.

HOW TO MAKE AN APPALACHIAN DULCIMER

Hank Levin

This article is extracted from the author's chapter on dulcimer construction in the book, *Dulcimer Styles* by Jean Ritchie, to be published in late 1973 by Oak Publications. The complete article contains information on fretting the fingerboard, head designs, tuning pegs, body designs, faces and backs, rib bending, assembling, and finishing.

Dulcimer Styles contains many absorbing chapters on dulcimers and dulcimer people with extensive historical information and notes on playing and tuning styles, dulcimer music in other countries, "old timers," and places where dulcimers can be bought. In addition, the book concludes with a bibliography, a discography, and fifteen songs transcribed for the dulcimer.

It's fun to build a dulcimer, and it's something that anyone should be able to do. Experience in woodworking is useful, but the primary requirement is a love for the dulcimer. Some ability to play, or at least a deep appreciation of the dulcimer and her music will provide far more incentive than superficial cabinet-making skills. My good friend Dharmendra Jadeja, an Indian prince from Gujarat, built many of the instruments in use in the United States today and he had no professional knowledge of woodworking before building dulcimers!

Hank Levin, born in New York City and now living in Los Angeles, is a talented craftsman who is dedicated to the production of folk instruments.

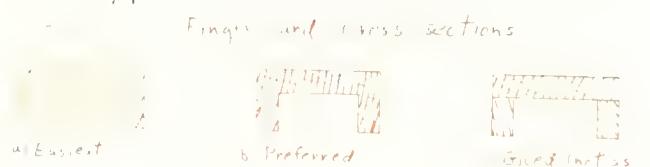
TOOLS

The beginner may be amazed at how few tools are essential for building a dulcimer. Don't hesitate to begin with whatever tools might be lying around the house. Do go to the library and get a book on basic carpentry and become familiar with what tools you will probably end up with before you're done: coping saw with an assortment of blades (unnecessary if you're lucky enough to have access to a jigsaw); a big coarse half-round file ($\frac{3}{4}$ " or 1" bastard); a fine flat mill file for dressing the frets when the instrument is done (check for flatness at the hardware store with a small steel rule—most are flat on one side, but many are flat on neither); a tapered reamer for pegs (unless you use tuning machines); a cabinet maker's scraper (you *must* find out how to sharpen and use this from a book on carpentry); sandpaper in the following grades: 80, 100, 150, 180, 200, 400, and a container of Franklin's Titebond glue.

However, the only tools above that are *absolutely* essential are the coping saw, files, and whatever grades of sandpaper you can scrounge, and of course the glue.

DULCIMER STYLES AND BASIC PARTS OF THE DULCIMER

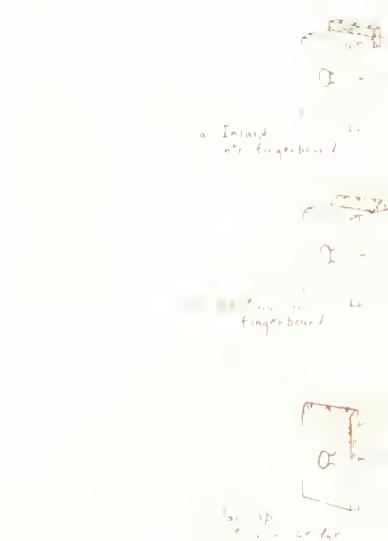
By dividing the dulcimer into three sections and treating each section separately you will get a better understanding of the different styles of dulcimers. There are actually only a couple of types of head, the same of bodies, and even fewer types of fingerboards. Obviously, we will then easily understand the many possible combinations of the three!



FINGERBOARDS

Most fingerboards are $\frac{3}{4}$ " high by $1\frac{1}{4}$ " wide. The fingerboard is rectangular with a "plucking hollow" cut or sanded into the top surface anywhere between the 15th fret and the bridge. The length of the fingerboard (and to some extent the length of the body of the instrument) is determined by the "vibrating length" of the strings, i.e., the distance between the nut and the bridge. The exact placement of the frets is also determined by this distance, and I will say more about that below.

The fingerboard gives a better sound when it is hollowed out, which must be done before the frets are put in, but this is not essential on your first dulcimer. The top surface of the fingerboard must be placed perfectly flat. It may be best to have a carpenter do this on a joinder.



THE BRIDGE

There are several traditional ways of placing the bridge at the lower end of the fingerboard. I've found the best sound to result from a saddle being set into a notch cut into the top of the fingerboard to receive it. A less desirable variation would be to simply place a prism-shaped bridge on the surface of the uncut fingerboard, but it will be found that if this is not glued into place it can be expected to shift constantly and throw the fingerboard out of tune. The least preferable style is nevertheless quite common. As illustrated, the tailcap is extended up slightly above the top surface of the fingerboard at its very end. It is rounded into a sort of bridge, and notched to hold the strings. Apart from being non-replaceable, it hampers the sound by transmitting the strings' vibrations directly to the most solid and least resonant part of the body—right into the tail block! For this last style of "bridge," the fingerboard and the body must be designed to end at the correct bridge distance from the nut to maintain the validity of the fret spacings.

THE NUT

The nut, which supports the strings above the fingerboard at the head end, is nearly always fit into a groove in the fingerboard as described above for the first (and preferred) kind of saddle. This groove should be just at the joint between the fingerboard and the head. It can be made of hard wood such as rosewood, or of bone, ivory, or plastic. I generally set it into a notch about $\frac{1}{8}$ " deep, and take care that it fits quite well into the notch all the way across the fingerboard, and seats all the way to the bottom of the notch. It should extend about $\frac{3}{32}$ " above the surface of the fingerboard. Later, after the dulcimer is finished, this nut will be notched to space the strings correctly and hold them just barely above the height of the frets.

Similarly, the bridge should be set into a notch about $\frac{1}{8}$ " deep, and should extend above the finger-

board about $\frac{1}{4}$ ". It will also be notched with the same string spacings as the nut, but it will hold the strings up to a height of $5/32$ " above the fifteenth fret when measured at that fret.

Fig. #3 Fingerboard fret scale layout for 28 $\frac{3}{4}$ "

Distance from "nut"	to 1st fret	= 3.13 inches
" "	" 2nd "	= 5.92 "
" "	" 3rd "	= 7.21 "
" "	" 4th "	= 9.57 "
" "	" 5th "	= 11.64 "
" "	" 6th "	= 12.62 "
(optional)		
" "	" 6a "	= 13.51 "
" "	" 7th "	= 14.38 "
" "	" 8th "	= 15.96 "
" "	" 9th "	= 17.34 "
" "	" 10th "	= 17.97 "
" "	" 11th "	= 19.15 "
" "	" 12th "	= 20.21 "
" "	" 13th "	= 20.67 "
" "	" 14th "	= 21.56 "
" "	" 15th "	= 22.34 "
Bridge saddle = 28.83 ***		

*28.75" + .08" correction—see text.

FRETS

Finally, we come to the location and inlaying of frets. It is worth noting that dulcimers, as well as many guitars, are seldom in tune with themselves. This is not difficult for an accomplished musician to detect listening to the instrument played solo, but it becomes painfully obvious to nearly anybody who hears the dulcimer played in concert with another instrument. This defect is always caused by reliance on any one of a number of "folk" techniques for locating fret placement. (The most commonly recommended error is to divide the distance between nut and bridge by eighteen, subtract the result from the total length, divide again, etc., then for the dulcimer utilize the second, fourth, fifth, seventh, etc., steps to ascertain the correct locations of the dulcimer's frets. When this is done, it will be found that the octave fret does not fall halfway between the nut and bridge as it theoretically should, and this is evidenced in the simplest test for intonation—the octaves are out of tune! To cover this up, makers who out of ignorance persist in using the above method will usually hide the defect by correcting the octave fret and letting the mistake fall somewhere else. This is common on inexpensive Spanish made guitars as well as dulcimers.)

Correct fret placement is made in reference to a formula found in most musical engineering textbooks, and according to this formula I have provided a fingerboard layout correct for a calculated theoret-

ical scale of 28 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Note that the bridge is actually located .08" further from the center of the seventh (octave) fret than is the nut. This corrects the tendency of the strings to be stretched into sounding sharp when they are pressed down to the frets. The distance from the fret side of the nut to the fret side of the bridge must therefore measure exactly 28.83".

If you plan to make several dulcimers, you will want to lay these measurements out on the edge of a piece of smooth white chalkboard, or even a strip of metal (I use the back surface of cheap aluminum yardsticks) and transfer the markings carefully onto the joined top surface of your fingerboard using a hard sharp pencil. You will need to buy a wooden drafting ruler which has a scale measuring 1/50th of an inch. When measuring, each 1/50th" mark will equal .02". (You are more likely to find such a ruler at a drafting supply shop or large art supply store than in a hardware store.)

When the correct positions of the nut, bridge, and frets have been marked lightly but accurately, use a sharp metal point (like an ice-pick) to scribe lines perpendicularly across the fingerboard with the aid of a carpenter's try-square. The fingerboard is now ready to receive the frets.*

*If you want to make your dulcimer longer or shorter, lay out the measurements I've given you on a large sheet of heavy paper along a straight vertical line. Then draw a horizontal base line across the end of that measured vertical. Now choose a point on the horizontal line as far as possible from the vertical, and from this point draw lines to the fret locations on the vertical, but extending these lines beyond the vertical if the new scale is to be longer. Now by drawing other vertical lines perpendicular to the base line you can get any size fingerboard and it will be proportionately correct and in tune.

OLD WAYS IN THE NEW WORLD

"Old Ways in the New World" is launched at this Festival as a cooperative, comparative presentation prepared and mounted by a joint effort involving the Smithsonian and the Government of Yugoslavia. Musicians, singers and dancers from Serbia and Croatia join with their cultural descendants in America for a five-day celebration of the bechar tamburashi tradition. A preview of a portion of next summer's "Old Ways" program will also be seen in a series of concerts comparing American Anglo-Scots-Irish material with the English, Scots and Irish forms.

Like the other programs in this Festival, "Old Ways" is concerned with the presentation of elements of group identity. Here the point of focus is the cultural baggage which brings newcomers, early and late, forced and willing, brought here and creatively used in maintaining their unique sense of community. These traditions serve to reinforce, reassure and stabilize people struggling to survive in an unaccustomed environment.

As we approach the plan for a four-month Bicentennial Festival of American Folklife projected for 1976, the Smithsonian is establishing relationships with foreign governments to initiate joint research programs with our scholars working abroad and visiting specialists coming to the U.S. to map and compare traditions as they exist in the mother country and here. The resources of ethnographic museums, folklore institutes, universities and independent scholars will be needed to approach this material with fresh perspectives and techniques.

We invite the comments of those who participate in this first presentation both as spectators and as performers and seek the involvement of individuals and institutions here and abroad for this presentation is, in fact, an initial works-in-progress exhibition

Ralph Rinzler



Sloga Orchestra, Chicago, Illinois, around 1920.



Marko Popovich, Pete Mistovich, Ted Popovich, Adam Popovich, Chicago, Illinois, 1973. Photo by Martin Koenig

TAMBURASHI TRADITION IN AMERICA

Ethel Raim-Zinser and
Martin Koenig

When we speak of Tamburashi music in America, we are referring to the musical tradition of Croatian and Serbian-Americans, going back to the late 19th century. The community that it serves numbers some two million persons in such diverse places as Western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Southern California, the New York City area, Galveston, Texas, Chicago Gary and Detroit. The population concentrations are either at seaports, near docks and fishing industries, or close to steel mills and coal mines, and, in the past, in the lumber and railroad-building camps of the West.

The term *Tamburashi* itself derives from the name of the instrument played—the tambura, as shown in the accompanying photographs. It is a family of instruments varying in size, tonal color and function.

There are two types of Tamburashi music in the United States—the large trained Tamburitzza ensembles developed by church groups and community organizations, and the smaller bechar groups that play for weddings, as well as for social gatherings within the community such as picnics, boat rides, bowling and basketball tournaments, celebrations and social gatherings. Bechar refers to a particular life style—that of a free-wheeling person who loves to make music and enjoys life to its fullest.

It is from the bechar that we draw the inspiration for the focus of this year's Festival. The gatherings and celebrations of these American communities are derived from events which still exist in their European homeland, such as the Sunday afternoon *kolo* (dance), music made in local *kafanas* as they are

known in Serbia, or *gostijonas*, the Croatian equivalent.

How does this music survive and flourish within a strange, unfamiliar and frequently hostile surrounding? Or is it precisely this aspect that has contributed to the nourishing of this tradition? Functional by definition, the music has served as a common bond providing a shared emotional expression. This music represents one of the most powerful links with the past, and as such, continues to help define the identity of these communities today.

Who are these musicians? As so frequently happens with traditional, community music, the family unit tends to be the nucleus of the musical groups. And so the historically important names in this tradition belong to family groups such as the Popovich Brothers, Crlenica Family, Jezdimir Family, Markulin Brothers, Djokich Father and Son, Skrbina Father and Son, Trifunovich Sisters and many others.

There are no full-time musicians in these communities. You put in a full week's work in the factory to feed the family, and on weekends you gather with friends and family to sing, to dance, and to make music. The sounds and movements make you feel alive, important and real. The most significant fact is that when the traditions were transplanted to the United States there was no departure from the tradition of the musician serving the community as opposed to performing for it.

One of the most meaningful experiences for us took place one Friday evening at the bar of the Serbian Club in Lackawana, New York. Several members of the Balkan Serenaders, men in their mid-forties, were jamming, and two teenage third generation Croatian-Americans were playing along with them. What impressed us deeply, was the way in which these two young boys were soaking in everything around them—musical riffs, singing style and words, social and musical interaction between the older musicians, the emotionality of the music and of the moment. What we witnessed on that occasion was the actual process of how this music is handed down complete with musical values and esthetics. That scene provides insight into the essence of how folk music traditions have been generated throughout history. It is a scene that is being constantly repeated—learning from a living situation in a traditional way instead of having classes with a teacher, or learning from a recording.

It is significant that in this age of instant, push-button, produced and packaged entertainment that Tamburashi music survives as a vital force in communities dotted across the nation. It stands as a tribute to the tenacity and enduring values of self-assured communities wishing to retain something that is distinctly theirs and which forms a basic element of their group pride and identity.

Ethel Raim-Zinser and Martin Koenig are Research and Program Directors for Balkan and Slavic Cultures, Festival of American Folklife, Division of Performing Arts, Smithsonian Institution.

A TYPICAL WEDDING IN BANAT, SERBIA

This original account was obtained during a recent trip to Yugoslavia by Field Researchers Ethel Raim-Zinser and Martin Koenig. Translation by Dorothy Pribichevitch.

As late as the 1920's, the custom of using a marriage broker was preserved in Banat. The broker was usually a relative or close friend of the prospective bridegroom.

In the late fall, when the harvest was in, the broker called on the prospective bride's parents. Since the visit had been announced in advance, the girl's parents prepared a formal welcome for the broker, with plum brandy, a special flat bread, and cheese. They first discuss everyday topics, and tell jokes to establish a cordial atmosphere. Gradually the broker leads the conversation around to the bridegroom and his family, praises them, and announces the real purpose of his visit. At this time the girl is out of the room, although she has greeted the broker on his arrival, and helped serve the guests. Sometimes negotiations take place without the knowledge of the young couple, and often even against their will.

The broker's role is to arrange for a visit by the young man's parents to conclude agreement on the wedding-date, the amount of the bride's dowry, the number of witnesses, etc. When a day is set for this visit, there is general celebration, the girl is called in and told that she is engaged, and wished happiness. She expresses her gratitude by kissing her parents and kissing the broker's hand. The whole ceremony is accompanied by cries of "Good Luck!"

On the prearranged day, always early in the evening, the young man's parents call, without the

bridegroom. They are dressed in national costume. The host greets them at the gate with kisses and leads them into a festively decorated room. The girl is in another part of the house, also dressed in holiday clothes. Plum brandy is served, and conversation begins about work, daily events, and then gradually turns to the young couple. The bridegroom's parents describe their son as hardworking, honest and home-loving, emphasizing all his good points. At the same time, the girl's parents praise their daughter. Both parties usually exaggerate. Unobtrusively, they introduce the subject of the dowry.

The bride's father tells his friend how much land he will give his daughter, and there is usually some bargaining. The bridegroom's father haggles a bit, hoping to get more or better quality land, or land nearer the village. When agreement is reached, the girl's mother talks about her daughter's hope-chest and often produces some of the girl's needlework.

The next important moment comes when the bridegroom's father talks of his property, that is, the land, livestock, house and tools that will fall to his son. If the son is not an only child, the father announces how much he will transfer to his son upon his marriage and what he will leave him in his will. It sometimes happens that the girl's father is dissatisfied with the distribution of property, hoping to get the best possible situation for his future son-in-law. When they finally agree, the young man's father calls in his future daughter-in-law, kisses her, congratulates her and gives her an apple, while she kisses his hand. With the words "Long life, daughter," he takes money from his wallet and gives it to her. They then celebrate with singing, dancing, eating and drinking. Before departing the new friends arrange a date for the girl's parents to "see the bridegroom's house," and set the wedding-date.

The preparations for the wedding begin. The girl's parents impatiently await their visit to the young man's house. His parents prepare a welcome for the future in-laws: the house is painted, the yard is cleaned up, and the barns and stables put in order. An hour or two before lunch, on the set day, the girl's parents arrive in a cart, which is decorated for the occasion: the horse is adorned with large coverings and the cart has leather seats covered with rugs woven by the girl. A driver sits on the front seat dressed in holiday clothes and carrying a decorated whip, while the girl's parents, also formally dressed, sit on the back seat. It is the custom to turn the cart two or three times in a circle in front of the bridegroom's house. The driver then whips the horse to a gallop and enters the yard. Standing in the yard are the close relatives, a bagpiper, and the host. Brandy is served to the arriving guests, followed by greetings and kisses.

The guests are ushered into a gaily decorated room. After a gala lunch, with plenty to drink, the guests inspect the house, the stables, and the livestock. Neighbors eagerly watch to see whether the girl's parents who have come to "inspect the house" stay to lunch as this means that agreement on the marriage has been reached.

In the afternoon, the girl's parents are escorted home by their host. Eight days later the young man's parents, with the broker, visit the girl's parents and exchange gifts.

When all this has been completed both families begin the real preparations for the wedding.

A few days before the wedding the bridegroom's father sends his son's closest friend to invite the guests. This young man carries a stick on which he hangs a woven bag containing apples. He is called a "Legijas" (Legiyash). He goes first to the bride and formally invites her to the wedding and gives her an apple, while she in return gives him a towel which he hangs on his cane. The "Legijas" then goes to the



Bride and bridegroom with close relatives. Photographed in 1908 in Banat.

"Kum" (who will also be godfather to the couple's children), to the other witnesses, the best man and the other guests. He gives each an apple, and everyone gives gifts in return.

On the eve of the wedding, usually held on Sunday, the bridegroom's young guests and the musicians go to the girl's house to bring her the wedding dress, veil, a wreath and shoes. They usually stay to supper and there is much gaiety and music. Around 10 p.m. they go to the bridegroom's house, and then to bed. Around 9:00 a.m. the next morning, friends of the bridegroom go to escort the

Kum, the chief witness and the best man to the wedding. They go to the bride's house, accompanied by the musicians. They usually go by cart fitted with leather seats and covered by rugs or if they cannot manage this, then the cart is filled with corn cobs covered by rugs. The horse is adorned with bells and kerchiefs. At the girl's house, they are greeted by the bride, her parents and close relatives. After the greetings, all of the witnesses, except bridegroom's parents, enter the house for plum brandy and cakes. Following the first toasts, the Kum is handed a censer containing live coals and incense. He says the Lord's Prayer. The bride and groom then say goodbye to the bride's parents and other relatives. The bride's brother (or another male relative) and the best man lead her to the cart. They are wearing shirts given by the bridegroom. At this point they sing "*Lepu Smilju izvedose*" (Lovely Smilja is being Led Out). All the witnesses, and the bride and groom, go to the Registry office of the bride's birthplace for the civil wedding. Then they go to the church. The bridegroom's guests enter his house, while the bride's guests go to her house for lunch.

The bride is welcomed by her husband's parents and gifts are exchanged. The mother-in-law ties an apron on the bride and gives her two loaves of bread and two jugs of wine. The bride cannot enter the house until she is given a baby boy by her mother-in-law to toss a little in the air three times. The bride has a shirt for the baby.

The bridal couple, the bridegroom's parents and all the witnesses enter the house where they are served much delicious food and drink. Musicians play throughout.

Around 10:00 p.m. the bride's relatives arrive, bringing bread which they break over the bride. All the young men and girls try to grab a piece of bread, which signifies that they will quickly marry. Supper is then served. Around midnight the wedding gifts are displayed. The gifts are usually described by one of the witnesses who acts as a kind of jester, permitted by the Kum to say whatever he likes to anybody. The laughing and joking lasts for hours. The bride dances a special wedding dance with anyone who will pay. Her partners usually pay well because everyone wants to show off. The celebrations continue until dawn when the bridegroom refuses to pay the bride so that she will no longer dance.

The bridegroom's father then lights a bonfire in the village street, and all the guests dance a "kolo" around the fire. The bridegroom's mother scatters feathers on all the witnesses, especially on the bride's guests. These guests are then escorted home, followed by the Kum, the chief witness, the best man.

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